

THE  
OECONOMICAL  
TABLE,  
AN ATTEMPT

TOWARDS  
ASCERTAINING AND EXHIBITING  
THE SOURCE, PROGRESS, AND  
EMPLOYMENT OF RICHES,

WITH  
EXPLANATIONS,  
BY THE FRIEND OF MANKIND,

THE CELEBRATED  
MARQUIS DE MIRABEAU.  
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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M.DCC.LXVI.





TO THE FARMERS OF ENGLAND,

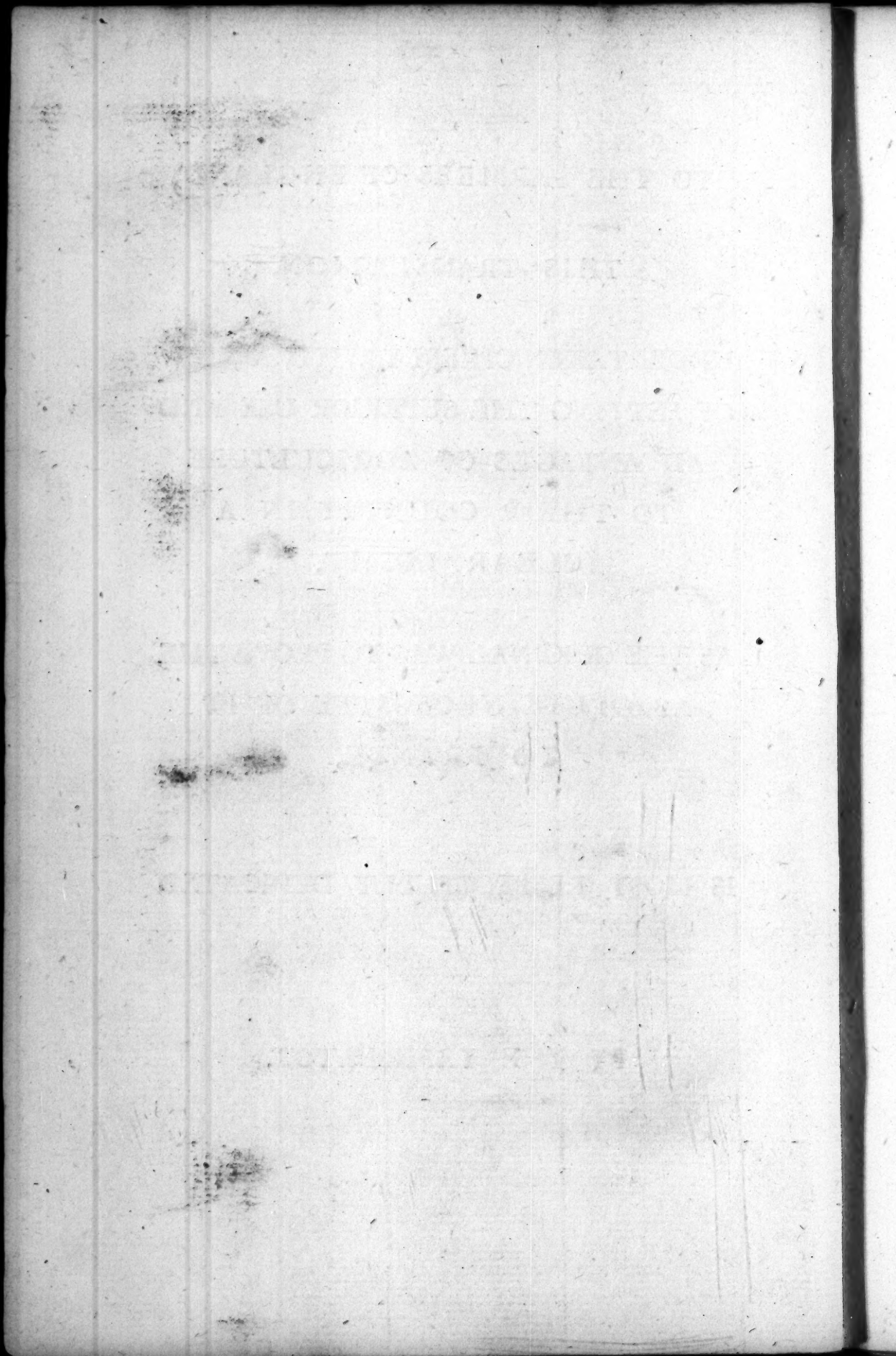
THIS TRANSLATION,

UNDERTAKEN CHIEFLY WITH A VIEW  
OF SETTING THE SUPERIOR USE AND  
ADVANTAGES OF AGRICULTURE  
TO THEIR COUNTRY IN A  
CLEAR LIGHT,

AS THE ORIGINAL WAS TO PROVE THE  
ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF IT  
TO FRANCE,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE TRANSLATOR.





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# P R E F A C E

BY THE

T R A N S L A T O R .

**O**F all the studies pursued by mankind, history is generally allowed to be the most useful and entertaining, especially that of internal commotions, as usually displaying the greatest exertion of the mental faculties. Yet what, after all, is even this branch of history, as handled by most writers, chiefly made up of, but the struggles between knaves and madmen, followed by a disciplined rabble of slaves and fools; for the wretched prerogative of trampling on the necks of their equals? How much more interesting must be the relation and discussion of those means, by which both nations and individuals may improve their happiness,

ness, not only without interfering with each other's interests, but to the great and universal benefit of all. And this, indeed, seems, now at last, to be pretty much the sense of the most thinking part of mankind, witness the good reception given to the works of BERKLEY, and some other modern writers on that subject, who have handled it with a profoundness becoming philosophers, and a spirit worthy of citizens of the world.

BUT, with all their profoundness and spirit, it does not appear, that any of those writers have, at least demonstratively, pointed out the primitive source of happiness to states, according to the nature, extent, and situation of their respective territories. For, though agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are, all, allowed to be highly useful, and the two former, particularly the first, absolutely requisite to the well-being of mankind in general, it has not, I think, been as yet demonstrated, that they are not all equally objects of attention to every state in particular. It has not been mathematically proved, that it would be  
as

as preposterous in the Dutch to encourage agriculture above traffick, and in the Poles traffick above agriculture, and in the people of Geneva either above manufactures, as it would be in our government; for example, to offer premiums for raising the greatest quantity of corn within the bills of mortality, or for instructing the greatest number of country boys in navigation and accompts, or for promoting agriculture and traffick within the liberties of such a place as Manchester, too small, and too remote from the channels of communication between other places, to yield employment to any of her hands in either one or the other of these branches of business, and, therefore, fit only for acting that part in the body politic, which she actually does, with so much advantage to herself, and to every other fellow-member.

BUT I must here take notice, that by the word, *traffick*, I do not mean the buying from strangers to sell to fellow-subjects, or from fellow-subjects to sell to strangers; a branch of business in all places useful, and in many absolutely essential to their



existence. What I mean by *traffick*, to adopt my author's meaning of that word, is the buying from strangers to sell to strangers; that business, in short, which is at present chiefly carried on by the Dutch, as it was formerly by the Hanse-towns, the Venetians, and the Genoese; but without which, thank God, Great Britain can subsist better on her tillage and her manufactures, than it was ever possible for these states to do on their extensive traffick. Accordingly, though some writers of eminence have affected to consider her as one of the greatest trafficking nations in the world, she is, if we consider things rightly, very far from being so, at least proportionably to her extent. She consumes herself almost all her own imports, and of course exports little else but her own produce: super-eminently happy in thus having within herself almost all the materials of her happiness, at least such a redundancy of some, as easily to obtain in exchange what she wants of others; such an abundance of the most useful things, as to afford plentiful roots of that internal strength so necessary to keep out an enemy; such a defect of some others, as cannot be

be supplied but by those means, which, to islanders especially, are requisite to keep him at a distance, and withal maintain that correspondence with the rest of mankind, without which the most civilized nations could not but in time relapse into their primitive barbarism. She is both mistress and servant. Her own hands and lands supply her with all the necessaries, and almost all the conveniencies of life. She is, as a state, in the same condition, that the prophet wished to be as an individual. She is neither poor, like some petty trading states, obliged to slave for others, and often tempted to oppress them; nor extravagantly opulent, like Mexico or Peru, which, by having it in their power to procure every thing by the labour of slaves, are enervated beyond the possibility of resisting any power that should seriously attempt to enslave themselves; supposing them to be actually free, which, by the bye, is very far from being the case.

BUT, to return. Some persons may think, that such obvious truths did not require to be demonstrated; but those, who think so, must,

must, surely, have read very few of our reputedly best authors upon trade and commerce, most of whom, considering only the flourishing condition of some confined, tho' well situated, trading state, as more within their track, hold it forth as an universal example, and propose traffick as the only source of happiness in every other, and consequently the only object worth the legislature's attention in all. But these examples of theirs, upon which they shape all their flimsy arguments, not to speak of the arguments themselves, are refuted in the following sheets by other examples. We shall there find by the pictures of France at different periods, that, even making allowances for the ravages of war, she could, in the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. when she had no traffick, and very little commercial communication, at least in her own bottoms, with other nations, boast, in consequence of the superior attention paid to agriculture, or rather the superior ease her farmers were permitted to enjoy in point of taxes and military service, a greater number of inhabitants, and a greater proportion of them happy, than when  
that



that monarch, at the instigation of Monsieur Colbert, endeavoured to make France another Holland, or rather the only seat of commerce and manufactures to the exclusion of all the other nations of Europe; as though it were not, in a manner, impossible to render any very extensive country, like France, as populous as Holland, by any other means than agriculture, which, in this wild project, was, however, totally overlooked, or rather sacrificed to support it. And unless such a country was equally populous, how is it possible, that she should be proportionably strong in trade and manufactures?

It is this error, chiefly, with regard to France, that the author of the following æconomical table, and the FRIEND OF MANKIND, who has taken upon him to explain that table, endeavour to refute. How they have acquitted themselves of this task, we may guess by the encomiums bestowed on their work by the foreign Journalists and Reviewers, and judge for ourselves by examining it. But, though the reasonings employed for this purpose have, as I have

have already intimated, an eye chiefly, if not altogether, to France, they may be easily applied, affirmatively to every country of an extensive and fruitful soil, and negatively to every other, so as to constitute an universal rule of conduct for all.

THIS rule, however, the Marquis, I must own, has left open to some objections, especially from those who love the fine arts, as every man must to be allowed any pretensions to thought and feeling. He insists, that agriculture cannot possibly flourish in a country like France, unless the bulk of the inhabitants prefer the luxuries of subsistence to those of decoration, commonly deemed the only support of these arts. As, therefore, some readers may not be more tender in judging of his meaning, than he has been guarded in expressing it, I must beg leave to remark, that he is by no means for having the rich spend all their money in the purchase of the luxuries of subsistence, as at first sight one might be apt to conclude, instead of bestowing part of it on the poor for the luxuries of decoration; since, the poor having mouths as well

well as the rich, the demand in both cases must be the same on the farmer. He does not require that the consumption of the first products should be confined to any particular set of men; all he requires is, that they should be consumed. But consumed, he apprehends, they never would, were a superior taste for the luxuries of decoration universally to prevail, even in towns and cities, since by such numbers of people, in that case, confining themselves to the purchase of manufactures, it would be impossible for the farmer to sell the produce of his labours, and of course to pay his rent, the consequence of which must naturally be an almost total cessation of agriculture, the destruction of the landed interest; and, to go a step farther than my authors perhaps intended, an end of every sublunary enjoyment worthy the wish of a rational being.

FOR, not to speak of that super-eminently useful and entertaining employment which agriculture affords the mind of man, and which it ever affords in proportion as it is cultivated, what fine art is there, that  
can



can yield the senses half the satisfaction which they derive from agriculture? Can any ornaments, within the narrow bounds of our tenements, compare with those diffusable by agriculture over the immense face of nature? Nay, it is a question, if these ornaments could so much as subsist without it; for where, without agriculture, could the fine arts find either objects or patterns to work upon, since, if all were wildness, wildness would have no charms? Besides, it is not to be expected, that a taste, however strong, for the luxuries of decoration alone, should ever occasion those tempests in the human breast, those bustles in society, those struggles between nature and art, which afford the noblest subjects to the pencil, the chissel, and even the pen itself, to rank poetry and oratory among the fine arts? It may, therefore, be affirmed, that even good eating and drinking is but the last scene of a long series of pleasures of a much higher order necessary to furnish it; but for which, were it not for the sake of the last, the generality of mankind would not, it may be presumed, think it worth their while to take any pains.

pains. In what age, or country, for instance, have those most pleasing arts of planting and plowing, of grazing cattle and feeding poultry, with all the other amusing details of a country-life, been practised to any degree, merely to enliven the creation, perfume the air, and give fresh and blooming looks, and an ever-youthful countenance, to the earth? No! in this respect, mankind is always a child. For, as it is often necessary to inflict some small evils on children to make them avoid great ones; so is it necessary to hold out some coarse enjoyments to mankind, to make it attend to those of a refined nature.

BUT, allowing uncultivated nature alone sufficient to supply the arts of decoration with subjects and patterns, what would it signify, were the human fancy unable to operate properly upon them. And that this would be the case, without mankind's enjoying the luxuries, and consequently cultivating the arts, of subsistence, is plain both from our own feelings and the example and authority even of those, who have succeeded best in cultivating the arts of decoration.

decoration. Not to speak of all that philanthropy of sentiment, that hilarity of thought, that gaiety of countenance, that freedom of conversation, almost inseparable from a plentiful table, and those so happily expressed *libera vina* of Horace, as constituting in themselves, in the opinion of the same poet, one of the most pleasing subjects of verse, what other subjects of verse could be properly celebrated without it? According to Juvenal, Horace himself required to be brim-full to call upon the Muses to any purpose; and all Virgil's fire would have produced nothing but smoke, had he not enjoyed his share of the conveniencies of life. Nay, the Royal Psalmist himself, though he declares, that, to see the glory of the Most Highest, he found it requisite to appear before him as in a dry, barren, wild, and desert land; yet a little lower in the same Psalm he says, that, in praising and exalting even that glory, he found something operate on his soul like *marrow and fatness*; emphatically alluding to that material satiety so requisite duly to describe and celebrate all material subjects.

LET



LET us go a step farther, and grant, that, without cultivating the arts of subsistence, the arts of decoration, and, if we may continue to consider them as arts, those transcendent ones of oratory and poetry, could subsist, to what purpose would it be, if mankind itself, for want of cultivating the arts of subsistence, should decline by degrees, and at last set never to rise again? To what purpose would colours be, if there were no eyes; or music, if there were no ears; or odours, if there were no organs of smell? Now, nothing can be plainer, than it is from observation, that farmers are the only class of people, who not only keep up their own numbers, but make amends for the ravages that happen in all the other classes of mankind, particularly those employed in the arts of decoration. Hence it is, that so few families in the inland and second-rate towns, even of England, can trace their pedigrees three or four generations back, without finding themselves in the fields. Hence it is, that, the arts of decoration being so much cultivated in England, the cultivation of those of subsistence, though very great, is scarcely

able to keep up our numbers; whereas in our North-American colonies, where few arts are known but those of subsistence, the inhabitants, double, even independent of any accessions from abroad, every five and twenty or thirty years. Nor is it the number of mankind alone, that would thus dwindle without the cultivation of the arts of subsistence; its powers and its beauties both mental and corporeal would infallibly suffer a proportionable decay. Farming is the only kind of life, in which every thing concurs, not only to encrease, but to improve the species, or at least keep it up to its original standard; open air; exercise of body and mind without exhaustion; plenty without excess; a constant prospect of the unceasing operations of nature, the Almighty's handmaid, so well adapted to illustrate, and keep up the remembrance of, His own immediate operations in the grand works of creation and renovation, and thereby fill the mind with sentiments of respect, love, and gratitude towards that all-perfect Being, and consequently of benevolence to all those, whom, from equal motives of goodness, he has chosen to be  
equally

equally sharers of the same blessings ; advantages, which, however great in themselves, must, in England, be greatly improved by the farmers consciousness of their enjoying a free intercourse with all the other classes of the community ; and it is, no doubt, to this free intercourse between the farming and the other classes of her inhabitants, that this happy country is indebted for those superior excellencies of body and of mind, by which her children of all ranks are so easily distinguishable from the children of every other, even those blessed, if any such there are, with the same happy combination of sun and soil, liberty and law, on the face of this terrestrial globe.

HOWEVER necessary, therefore, agriculture may be to France, it is vastly more useful to England, since, though England, on account of the superior number of her ports in proportion to her extent, can do better without agriculture than France, she, on account of her happy constitution, receives many more advantages from it. Agriculture, if, in some degree, more meat  
and



and drink to France than to England, is to England, in an almost infinite degree, more than to France, health and strength, beauty and comeliness, thought and spirit, industry and œconomy, bravery and benevolence, every ingredient, in short, fittest to form the manufacturer and the artist, the mechanic and the merchant, the man of business and the man of letters, the philosopher and the legislator, the friend as well as the master of mankind. Wherefore, O Englishmen, (I was going to say, at your peril, but I cannot help saying) as ye tender your own happiness, that of your posterity, and even that of mankind, look with an eye of superlative complacency upon farming, and countenance and encourage by every possible allowance of ease, profit, and honor, all those concerned in so greatly and so universally beneficial a profession.

THE

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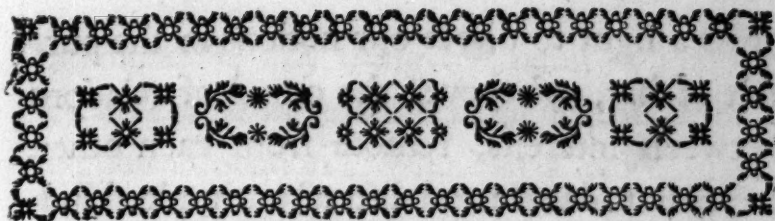
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This

The Oeconomical Table, in which the  
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This excellent work is the *Ne plus ultra* of the oeconomical science, the most important of all the sciences. It, therefore, should be read and diligently studied by all those, who are desirous of acquiring just ideas concerning the real and imaginary riches of a state; of thoroughly understanding the nature of circulation; of distinguishing expence from luxury; of knowing what rank nominal values deserve in political speculations; and of deciding with justness concerning the propriety of the several laws, customs, and regulations of a country. It is, in a manner, impossible to give any abstract of a work, that is, itself, an abstract of principles and demonstrations, which, handled as fully as they ought to be, would alone suffice to fill volumes.

*Journal des Sçavans* for February 1761.



T H E

## OECONOMICAL TABLE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

 HUMAN science, properly speaking, consists in the knowledge of human affairs. These lie all under our eyes, or within our reach, and the simplest notions concerning them are the nearest to truth; but our understanding is weak, and too apt, when obliged to compare and combine its ideas, to give way under the burthen, and warp from its erect posture.

ART should never interfere in our search after truth, but as an index to point her out,

B

or



or as a light to direct our notions in the pursuit of her, whenever the croud of relations between interests, remote from each other, happens to dazzle and distract our understanding. But now become an instrument of illusion, it fills us with borrowed and erroneous opinions: it builds in the air, like the architects of NECTANEBO, and not only robs us of our direct feelings, and of our natural ideas, but likewise, by a necessary consequence, of the great advantages we might expect from a more regular conduct, and from that assistance, which nature never refuses to those, who allow things to follow her direction.

IT is chiefly in the œconomical science, that never-failing source of our subsistence, of our manners, and, in short, of every thing that can with any propriety be called the object of that fundamental science, the science of governing well, that this fatal inconvenience is most severely felt. Man, who learns nothing but like a child, who never sees in religion any present and immediate retribution of virtue and vice; who never attributes  
obedience

## INTRODUCTION.

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obedience to any thing but habit or interest ; never considers manners but as the fruits of a good education ; who, in a word, never looks deeper than the surface in moral matters ; man, I say, guilty of all these mistakes in affairs of such importance, commits the same in those, which are purely physical. The art of over-reaching he dignifies with the name of policy ; a heap of counters with that of riches ; civil piracy, with that of finance ; the knack of bartering to advantage, with that of commerce. And behold ! he has no sooner crammed these notions into his brain, in confused and ill-sorted bundles, but he sets out to perplex himself and his cotemporaries ; and self-love and interest find it so much the easier to usurp the reins of his understanding in matters relating to his peculiar sphere of life, as the crude notions, upon which these partial systems are built, have no manner of foundation in judgment or truth.

For instance. Of all the writers upon commerce, who swarmed in such numbers when that subject happened to be in

vogue, how many began by untying the bundle marked with that grand word, COMMERCE ; by distinguishing properly between the trade carried on in the first necessities of life, the trade carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth, and the trade carried on in manufactures ; between that trade, which consists in carrying for foreigners, and that, which consists in buying in one foreign country to sell in another ; between the trade carried on by means of metals, and that carried on by means of paper ; between the trade carried on by individuals, and the trade carried on by companies, &c. Has any of them taken the least trouble to distinguish between the profits, which those, who carry on a foreign trade, make upon their fellow-subjects, and those they make upon foreigners, and then ascertain the amount of these several profits ? Has any of them been at the pains of calculating, how far the nation is benefitted by the first ; and of forming a judgment of the visible or hidden state of these different gains, though absolutely necessary to make a just repartition of taxes ? No ! we are as yet unacquainted



## INTRODUCTION.

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quainted with all these details. We are perpetually confounding the produce of the earth with the produce of trade; nay, we think the former beneath our notice, and, instead of relying on the husbandman, expect every thing at the hands of the merchant and manufacturer, though by no means so nearly related to us. Every thing goes under the name of trade, the support of states, the source of splendor, and the like rhetorical amplifications. Not one author has as yet considered the origin and tendency of all these things. Hence mistakes in the principles, and ruin in the consequences, of our conduct.

THE same may be said of all the other parts of our present theory of human affairs, which, as well as trade, are but so many branches of that great physical science of this earthly globe, the œconomical science.

Is it not surprising, or rather shocking, to think, that this science of sciences is as yet without professors, or adepts, or genuine principles! I do not wonder that primitive

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men, this moment obedient to the laws of nature, the next slaves to the first fallies of human pride, should have taken it into their heads, that the primary notions of subsistence could not fail of being perpetuated in all their purity, by the mere empire of necessity; that the Egyptians, who all at once became so powerful and so wise a nation, in consequence of their seeking for prosperity in the arts from which it originally springs, namely, those of agriculture, have left us no traces of their researches this way, involved in hieroglyphics, agreeable to the genius of the eastern people; that the Greeks, born to cultivate those arts which are the daughters of the imagination, and scattered over a barren soil, should have despised the fundamental science in the government of nations, and should have cherished no more of it than suited their love of liberty and of pleasure; that the Romans, first warriors, next conquerors, then plunderers, and at last a prey to plunderers, should have regarded nothing in the æconomical science but its independency, and should have left us nothing concerning it, but a few instructions  
in

in practical agriculture, without ever considering this source of riches, in its essential relations to the constituent form of states : I easily conceive how all this has happened. But that, since arts and sciences have civilized the western world, since Europe, divided into nations well known to each other, governed by equitable laws, made sisters by trade, and rescued from tyranny and slavery by a religion powerful to conquer and subdue the most atrocious passions ; since every corner of Europe, I say, can boast of men greedy of praise, and expecting it only in proportion to their endeavours to serve mankind ; since the sciences compose a kind of universe, and the *republic of letters* is an expression in every mouth ; that within this period, I say, the learned and the wise, convinced that a man may make himself useful by his studies, should notwithstanding have applied themselves to every thing, except what ought to be the first and chief concern of us mortals ; this it is that I am utterly at a loss to account for. Let such, as imagine that illiterate and rote-taught rustics, are equal to this science, but cast



an eye on our table, and they will soon see their mistake. As to the notion of this science belonging to none but men seated at the helm of affairs, I dare affirm, that those, who govern, have no time to do any thing else. They must have a chain of principles ready formed to their hands. The maxims and details, so necessary to form the statesman, depend on the general connection and order of natural effects, which carry along with them the whole political mass, by the indissoluble concatenation of all the moral and physical concerns of this our sublunary world. It is the investigation of these principles, that the philosophers, engaged in the study of nature, should make the object of their meditations. It is the result of such investigation, demonstrated in the clearest manner, that composes the science of government. This study consists in a practical and decisive knowledge of several things, which ought to be examined, founded, and developed by the learned, whom such useful labours would entitle to the esteem and thanks of mankind. May not the man, who has sacrificed immense calculations

## INTRODUCTION.

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calculations to the ambition of resolving the Catenarian problem, while we are left in the dark concerning the means of procuring our daily bread, concerning the concurrence of all those œconomical functions fittest to secure subsistence and power to a nation ; may not, I say, such an idle genius be compared to the father of a family, who aimed at nothing, studied nothing, ambitioned nothing, but to become an able chess-player. O ye, whom Providence has distinguished by her richest gifts, consider, I beseech you, that it could by no means be her intention in so doing, to confine you to the poor satisfaction of making a figure in the eyes of a lazy and curious people. All the hours you throw away on such idle speculations, is so much time stolen from the study of a patriot, and the duty of a citizen. The science now before us is the province of the learned, for a man must be learned indeed, to dive to the bottom of it. Yes, the œconomical science is of such extent, her objects are so numerous, her relations so intricate, that her interpreters, to succeed in the development and combination of so many branches

## 10 INTRODUCTION.

branches of knowledge, cannot be too well practised in the study of the abstruse sciences; and yet you leave me, me whose negligence of style, and exuberance of ideas, you so justly condemn; you leave me, I say, to wander alone in this new and strange road. For shame, awake! awake, I say, from that profound lethargy, in which you thus ignobly suffer yourself to be held by the charms of some more agreeable occupation. Awake! arise! shew yourselves in the employment most worthy of your superior talents; or, when you see princes degenerate into tyrants, power abused to serve the worst of purposes, men blind to every thing but their own interest, the poor oppressed and starving on the dunghill, subsistence refused to beings like yourselves, and the race of Japhet justly branded with the appellation of *a cruel and merciless brood*; cease to attribute to guilt, that which proceeds merely from ignorance; cease to accuse human nature, it is yourselves alone you are to accuse. Yes, present your heads to the vengeful thunderbolt, and say, what the mother of a tyrant formerly said; *It is here you should strike.*



## INTRODUCTION. 11

*Strike.* Say ; “ Had we pointed out to  
“ mankind the road of physical profit and  
“ moral good, united and combined toge-  
“ ther, they would have pursued them ; at  
“ least we should not be answerable for  
“ their mistakes.”

BUT things are not quite so bad ; this science begins to gain notice. I have met not only fellow-labourers, as hinted elsewhere, but even guides in the pursuit of it : a man of genius, who has analyzed and minutely examined all the principles of it, and by this study has discovered the source of all those evils, with which nations often find themselves overwhelmed, when they think themselves wisest, has laboured, by a close and obstinate application suitable to his talents, to acquire just and solid ideas of the source, progress, and employment of riches. But on marshalling in his head the result of these ideas, he saw plainly that it was impossible to communicate them properly by the mere invention of letters, without making out a map or drawing to assist them ; and it is to this conviction of his  
we

we owe the following æconomical table: But though I perfectly agree with him in the principles upon which he has constructed it, I could not, with all the application I was master of, comprehend these principles in their full extent, till I had made out a map myself, and withal drawn up some explanations of that map for my own use. It is these explanations, suited to my own, and consequently to the weakest capacity, which I now offer to the public, for whose use I received the ingenious performance that is the object of them.

I MUST however, before I go any further, beg leave to observe, that such, as do not chuse to bestow a little close and patient thinking on this performance, had as good never look into it, since otherwise, in all probability, they would soon lose the thread of the writers arguments, and reap nothing but error for their trouble. As for my part, I could not explain myself more fully, without diluting too much this mass of principles, which, though capable of furnishing matter for a thousand volumes, cannot

cannot at first be kept too close together. I must, above all things, caution the reader against flattering himself that he understands the table, till he has read the explanations of it, in all the different lights and points of view, in which he will here find it displayed.

BUT before we set out, we would do well to lay down to ourselves a few fundamental axioms, viz.

THE earth is the mother of all our goods.

OF these goods, whatever is consumed by him, who cultivates the earth, is subsistence, and nothing riches, but what he can dispose of.

THE man, who cultivates the earth with his hands, can expect no more from it than barely subsistence for himself and his family, and that too of the poorest kind. He must therefore look out for such assistants, as may procure him a greater produce, and at the same time require less to maintain them.

THIS



THIS assistance consists in machines, in cattle, in manures, &c. These things are not to be had without money, and the amount of what they cost is what we shall call the husbandman's primitive advances.

As of these things, some, viz. the cattle, must have grass, corn, &c. and all in general are subject to wear and tear, proper allowances must be made to support, repair, and recruit them. Now this allowance, added to the husbandman's subsistence, constitutes what we shall call the husbandman's annual advances, since he must every year feed and recruit his live stock, and till and sow his land, &c. before he can expect any crop from it.

A good crop, such as may be expected from a good cultivation, should yield, 1<sup>st</sup>, A reimbursement of the annual advances, in order to enable the husbandman to prepare in time for, and lay the foundations, as it were, of the next year's crop. 2<sup>dly</sup>, The interest of his primitive and annual advances, that is, a decent profit on the funds employed by

by him in machines, cattle, manures, &c.  
3dly, A further return which the husbandman may sell or barter.

It is this last portion of the annual produce, which we call income: it is the only portion that can be called riches, the rest being indispensably requisite to keep agoing the œconomical machine.

It is upon this portion, thus proved to be *riches*, and which we shall call *income*, that all the œconomical contexture of society depends. It is this portion that yields, 1st, Tithes, consecrated to the support of the altar; 2dly, The public revenue, set apart for the government and defence of the community; 3dly, The landlord's rent, being what the husbandman pays him for his land, free from all the charges of cultivating it.

Of these three portions, the first affords directly a livelihood to all those engaged in the service of religion; the second, a livelihood to all those enlisted in the service of the public; the third, a livelihood to the  
landlord,

## 16 INTRODUCTION.

landlord, and all those employed in his service.

THE three together, and each of them separately, maintain indirectly, and by the tribute of necessity, all the working part of the nation, as well husbandmen as manufacturers ; so that this working part of the nation, which before harvest had nothing to live upon but their advances, live afterwards upon the *income*, which flows back to them to purchase their superfluities, and affords them the means of pouring it back in their turn upon others that have any thing to spare, which they, the working part of the nation, want, and have not reaped from the earth, or manufactured.

SUCH is the machine of circulation in all its parts, here represented by money ; which, in itself, is no subsistence, but merely an instrument of barter universally adopted by all nations.

THIS is the circulation represented by the table, which I am now going to lay before the  
the



the reader, and the explanations of which he will do well to attend to in the order I shall give them.

THIS table shews, that, by means of the circulation between the three classes, viz. the proprietary class, consisting of the church, the state, and the landlord; the productive class, consisting of those employed in tilling the earth; and the manufacturing class; the circulating mass appears double the real mass laid out in advances.

BUT we must carefully distinguish the physical point of riches, which is reproduction, without which there would be no holding out above one year.

THUS, then, it appears, that riches have but one root, and that this root is the productive class, which vivifies all the other classes, giving them forces that return back to itself, doubled by the favourable impulse of a brisk, equable, and in every other respect well regulated circulation.

C

Now,

Now, it is this circulation we are to consider in the table, whose fourteen subdivisions, though they appear gradual, are, in fact, merely distributive; for it is in one and the same year, that all this repartition amongst all the numberless ramifications of society is performed.

BUT it was by no means the Author's intention to make an algebraical affair of this repartition, and consider it in all the aspects of which it is capable. This would be rather a geometrical amusement, foreign to his object. He has exhibited it in a table, under no other aspects than such as he thought indispensably requisite. By doing more he might have rendered it too intricate.

By understanding the table, the Reader will readily come to understand the depredations into which it is supposed the circulation may fall; he may be sure, besides, of seeing his trouble, to make himself thorough master of the principles flowing from this economical study, amply rewarded not only by the  
certainty

## INTRODUCTION. 19

certainty of the conclusions afforded by them; but by a facility of foresight concerning the nature and effects of every kind of political operations.

IN regard to the calculations, it is well known, that such things have always an *errors excepted* tacked to them. The truths, contained in the table, depend not on the *quantum* of those hieroglyphs called cyphers. They have been made use of in the table, which, at first sight, will appear the most intricate part of the work, merely to facilitate the comprehension of it. The eyes must be spoke to in support of the language suited to the mind, which is subject to distraction, but may be called back by mechanical objects. In short, the demonstrator, when not understood any where else, will own the fault to be entirely his; but, if not understood here, must attribute it entirely to the want of attention in the Reader.



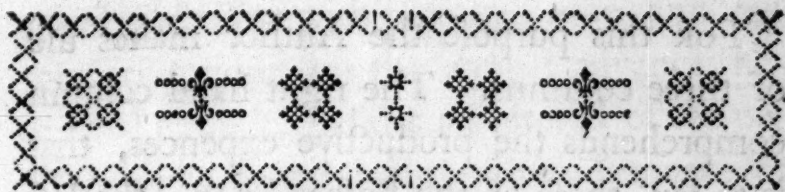
## THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER I.

Belonging to the first, second and third Sections of the first Part of the Explanation; in which Sections are considered, 1<sup>st</sup>, three different Kinds of Expence; 2<sup>dly</sup>, their Distribution; 3<sup>dly</sup>, their Effects; 4<sup>thly</sup>, their Reproduction; 5<sup>thly</sup>, their Relations one to another; 6<sup>thly</sup>, their Relations to Population; 7<sup>thly</sup>, to Agriculture; 8<sup>thly</sup>, to Manufactures; 9<sup>thly</sup>, to Commerce; and 10<sup>thly</sup>, to the total Amount of National Riches.

| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c.            |    |    | Annual Rent, or Landlord's Share, of the Annual Income |    |    | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |  |    |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------------------------------------------------|----|----|------------------------------------------------------|--|----|----|----|
| l.                                                                 | s. | d. |                                                        | l. | s. | d.                                                   |  | l. | s. | d. |
| 30                                                                 | 0  | 0  | produce net                                            | 30 | 0  | 0                                                    |  | 15 | 0  | 0  |
| <i>... some 1191 1208 1209 . . . half goes this way . .</i>        |    |    |                                                        |    |    |                                                      |  |    |    |    |
| 15                                                                 | 0  | 0  | reproduce net                                          | 15 | 0  | 0                                                    |  | 15 | 0  | 0  |
| <i>... half goes from this way ... half goes from this way ...</i> |    |    |                                                        |    |    |                                                      |  |    |    |    |
| 7                                                                  | 10 | 0  | reproduce net                                          | 7  | 10 | 0                                                    |  | 7  | 10 | 0  |
| 3                                                                  | 15 | 0  | reproduce net                                          | 3  | 15 | 0                                                    |  | 3  | 15 | 0  |
| 1                                                                  | 17 | 6  | reproduce net                                          | 1  | 17 | 6                                                    |  | 1  | 17 | 6  |
| 0                                                                  | 18 | 9  | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 18 | 9                                                    |  | 0  | 18 | 9  |
| 0                                                                  | 9  | 4½ | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 9  | 4½                                                   |  | 0  | 9  | 4½ |
| 0                                                                  | 4  | 8¼ | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 4  | 8¼                                                   |  | 0  | 4  | 8¼ |
| 0                                                                  | 2  | 4  | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 2  | 4                                                    |  | 0  | 2  | 4  |
| 0                                                                  | 1  | 2  | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 1  | 2                                                    |  | 0  | 1  | 2  |
| 0                                                                  | 0  | 7  | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 0  | 7                                                    |  | 0  | 0  | 7  |
| 0                                                                  | 0  | 3½ | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 0  | 3½                                                   |  | 0  | 0  | 3  |
| 0                                                                  | 0  | 1¾ | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 0  | 1¾                                                   |  | 0  | 0  | 1  |
| 0                                                                  | 0  | ¾  | reproduce net                                          | 0  | 0  | ¾                                                    |  | 0  | 0  | 0  |
| And so on.                                                         |    |    |                                                        |    |    |                                                      |  |    |    |    |

**TOTAL REPRODUCTION** 30*l.* rent, besides the proportional annual advances of 30*l.* and the proportional interest of the husbandman's primitive advances and annual advances, amounting to 17*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  which the earth restores. Thus, the reproduction amounts to 77*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  including the rent of 30*l.* which is the basis of this calculation, but exclusive of the land-tax of 15*l.* the tithes of 7*l.* 10*s.* the annual advances requisite for the annual reproduction of the said land-tax and tithes, and the interest of these and the proportional primitive advances. All these sums put together form an annual reproduction of 135*l.* 5*s.* which is half the produce of plough in a state of high cultivation, as shall be hereafter explained.



THE  
OECONOMICAL  
TABLE.

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PART I.

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SECTION I.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its Construction.*

[ See TABLE N<sup>o</sup> I. ]

**I**T was first necessary to ascertain whence the income arises, in what manner it is distributed among the different classes of society, in what places it vanishes, and in what it is reproduced.



22    The OECONOMICAL TABLE.    Part I.

FOR this purpose the Author makes use of three columns. The right hand column comprehends the productive expences, that is to say, those of the husbandman; the left hand column, the barren expences, that is to say, those of the manufacturer; the middle column is that of the income, whose reflux upon the right and left hand columns sets and keeps the whole machine of circulation a-going, and affords all the juices requisite for the subsistence and encrease of the body politic.

THE Author here assumes, by way of example, an annual rent of 30*l.* which he considers independently of the land-tax and tithes to avoid perplexity from too many figures; but we may, if we please, look upon these thirty pounds as so many millions.

HE has likewise assumed a kingdom in a flourishing state of cultivation, where the reproductive expences yield the same income from year to year, that is to say, where agriculture affords to the landlord, the king, and the church, in all kinds of produce,  
combined



combined one with another, one hundred per cent. profit on the annual advances bestowed upon it, besides an interest of ten per cent. on these and the primitive advances; or where the acre of land yields, on an average, 10 s. a year rent to the landlord, 5 s. for the land-tax, and 2 s. 6 d. for tithes, in all 17 s. 6 d. and likewise an equal sum for the reimbursement of the annual advances, besides 10 s. 1 d. for the interest of the primitive and annual advances; so that the whole annual yield of the acre must be at least 2 l. 5 s. 1 d. taking one year with another, and one kind of crop with another kind. For the acre should produce double that sum the year it is sown with wheat, in order to make amends for the preceeding year that it lay fallow, so that a crop of wheat takes in two years. Thus therefore in the hypothesis of a neat produce of cent. per cent. with the ten per cent. interest on the primitive and annual expences, this crop of wheat should amount to 4 l. 10 s. 2 d. and the crop of spring corn to 2 l. 5 s. 1 d. the acre. But wheat both requires a great deal more charges in proportion, and produces in proportion a great deal

24 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

more than spring corn ; so that the produce of an acre under wheat ought to be valued at 5*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* and that of an acre under spring corn at 1*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* amounting to the same thing on the whole, that is, 6*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* the acre, for three years.

OUR system excludes the petty kind of culture with oxen, &c. This kind of culture, to which husbandmen are reduced for want of funds for the primitive advances required by a stout culture, is carried on entirely at the expence of the land itself. The hay yielded by the meadows of a farm is eat up by the oxen ; a great part of the lands is employed in pasturage and other uses, suffered to be fallow, or quite idle, &c. under pretence of giving it time to recover itself ; in a word, swallowed up by the expences of cultivating it. This kind of culture, I say, for want of sufficient primitive advances, requires excessive annual advances to subsist the great number of hands necessary to carry it on, who run away with almost the whole produce. This ungrateful culture, which betrays the poverty and portends

Sect. I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 25

tends the ruin of those nations where it prevails, has no relation to the order of our table, which we suppose conformable to that state of things, in which the annual advances, employed on a suitable fund of primitive advances, yield cent. per cent. profit, besides ten per cent. interest on themselves, and the primitive advances.

WE moreover suppose the venal value of corn what it ought to be kept up to by a freedom and facility of domestic and foreign commerce, that is to say, that wheat is worth 38s. the quarter. This condition must be every where understood; for without setting a value on the real price of the immediate fruits of the earth, it is impossible to form any idea of the state of expence, or produce, or income of any nation. Let us now explain more at large, what we here mean by these two expressions, *primitive advances*, and *annual advances*.

By *primitive advances*, omitted in the table for fear of making it too intricate, we mean what the husbandman must lay out,  
on



26 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

on his entering upon business, in the purchase of cattle, instruments, and in other extraordinary charges, which, in a state of high cultivation, such as the table supposes, cannot, with one year's rent, amount to less than 500*l.* on a farm of 120 acres, and one plough to work such a farm with, during the two first years; for so long must the farmer be satisfied to labour before he can expect a crop: and all this, exclusive of the ordinary annual advances of 105*l.*

PEOPLE are too ignorant in many places, and it is poverty that makes them so, of the prodigious advantage there is in not being too frugal in these primitive advances. The earth is a most grateful parent. She repays with usury whatever we lend her, and that in an infinite progression in our favour.

It is this fund of primitive advances, the necessity and importance of which cannot but be sufficiently felt on the bare mention of them, that we must chiefly consider in an agricole state. Fools and knaves, I know, will cry out, *Men have done nothing but complain*

*complain of the badness of the times these twenty years past, and yet rents, tithes, and taxes, come in as usual.* I allow, that the husbandman, though obliged instead of large horses to make use of those of a middling size, and from thence to descend to hobbies, mules, asses, &c. may for some time longer make a shift to pay one way or another; but it will be by breaking in upon his stock, by which means his ruin, from being certain, as it was at first, becomes absolutely irretrievable.

THE *annual advances* are the funds employed every year, and take in two objects, viz. the annual productive expences on the one hand, and the annual barren expences on the other.

THE annual *productive expences* are employed in tillage, meadows, pasture land, fisheries, mines, and in the subsistence of the hands belonging to this class, &c. in order to perpetuate our riches in corn, beverage, timber, cattle, and materials for the manufacturing class, &c.

THE

28    THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.    Part I.

THE annual *barren expences* take in all the expences of the manufacturing class, as well domestic, as those requisite to carry on, or subservient to, their respective employments.

THE Author, by making the rent 30*l.* and supposing it the produce, on the footing of a stout culture, of cent. per cent. besides the interests already so often mentioned, allows, it is plain, 30*l.* for the annual productive expences: in the same hypothesis, by allowing an expence proportioned to the income in the manufacturing class, he fixes the annual advances for the annual barren expences at 15*l.* Let us now examine the distribution and circulation of the income, according to the rules just laid down.

SECTION



## SECTION II.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its Progress.*

[ See TABLE N° I. ]

THE annual advances of 30*l.* committed to the earth by the husbandman, yield him a net produce of 30*l.* for the landlord.

THIS will appear a very idle supposition to the many poor landlords, who think themselves but too happy in meeting with some wretched farmer willing to divide the fruits of every kind with them, and, miserable as these conditions are, they are too good for so paltry a cultivation, since on the least calamity the landlord must support his tenant, or expect to see his lands deserted by him. But this dismal kind of culture, the daughter of necessity, and the

30 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

the mother of misery, has nothing common with a good culture, such as may be seen in some countries, and such as we here suppose it; where the husbandman, independent as to his food, receives nothing from the landlord but the canvaſs of the produce, and has even his own private fund of primitive annual advances, for which the earth pays him at least ten per cent. interest. This portion of the husbandman's annual reimbursements, as I have already said, is not taken notice of in the table; but the Author, in the recapitulation at the bottom of the said table, allows 17*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the interest of the primitive and annual advances requisite to yield a rent of 30*l.*

BUT to proceed. The annual advances of 15*l.* set down here for the barren expences, consist in the purchase of raw materials for the manufacturer to work upon, and in his subsistence, till he has finished and sold his goods. But these advances reproduce nothing, as every one knows, and the table evinces. Trade and manufactures, I say, produce nothing, but only give every thing

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 31

thing the greatest relative value. The 15 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . net produce, which constitute the landlord's rent, are expended by him, half among the class of productive expences, for bread, wine, meat, &c. and the other half among the class of barren expences, for cloaths, furniture, and the like.

THE 15 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . of the rent, which, in the order of the table, immediately passes over to the class of productive expences, are so many *advances* returned in money, which in the course of the year reproduce 15 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . net, and these 15 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . constitute part of the reproduction of the landlord's rent for the year following; and by the remaining distribution of those sums, which return during the course of the same year to this same class, as it here appears from step to step, the total revenue is yearly reproduced.

THESE 15 $\text{\textit{l}}$ . I say, which the landlord has poured back into the class of productive expences, are expended by the farmer, one half in the purchase of the productions furnished by his own class, such as bread,  
wine,



wine, meat, &c. the other half in apparel, furniture, tools, and the like, supplied by the class of barren expences.

THE 15% of the landlord's rent which passed over to the class of barren expences, are expended by the manufacturer, &c. half among the class of productive expences in bread, wine, and meat for his subsistence, and in the purchase of raw materials to work upon, or to carry on for foreign commerce. The other half remains in the class of barren expences for his maintenance, and the reimbursement of his advances, that is to say, of the sum just now said to be advanced by the manufacturer, till he can make up and dispose of his goods.

THIS circulation, and this reciprocal and annual distribution, proceed in the same order by new subdivisions to the last farthing of the sums which pass reciprocally from one class to another. Let us now examine the reflux, and total amount, of all these funds.

It

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 33

It appears, by adding together the sums carried to the class of barren expences, that the circulation carries 30*l.* to that class. Of these 30*l.* we must immediately deduct 15*l.* to replace the *annual advances*. There remain 15*l.* for wages. Thus we find, that the 15*l.* which immediately at first setting out pass from the landlord's hands into the class of barren expences, replace in the said class the 15*l.* annual advances; and that the wages of the said barren class issue from another quarter, being the 15*l.* which this class receives from the class of productive expences.

THE produce of the class of productive expences is 60*l.* exclusive of the land-tax and tithes, and the interest on the primitive and annual advances; articles, which, not to render the order of expences too intricate, shall be taken notice of apart. The produce, I say, is 60*l.* to wit, 30*l.* which we have paid already into the hands of the landlord, and 30*l.* more, which constitute the reimbursement of the *annual advances*. Let us now trace the employment of these 60*l.*

D

WE

### 34 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part. I.

WE said, that the landlord bought 15*l.* worth of the land's produce, which is the same thing as if he received half his income in said produce; 15*l.* more pass over to the class of barren expences, *viz.* 7*l.* 10*s.* which remain there of the first 30*l.* poured into by the landlord (for it appears that the barren class, by means of what it pours back at every step to the productive class, retains but half of what it has received) and 7*l.* 10*s.* which it receives by the several returns made to it by the productive class. Of the remaining 30*l.* one half is consumed or sunk in the class of productive expences, by the men employed in raising the produce; and the amount of the other half goes to compleat the rent due to the landlord\*.

The advances of the productive class reproduce every year themselves and the income; and in like manner the income and these

\* THE maintenance of cattle, though supplied by the produce of the earth, is not brought into this account, as the sale of them forms in itself part of the income.

NOR are the reproductions of the 30*l.* advances taken any notice of, as they must be again bestowed on the earth, to have a crop the next year.



these advances are every year consumed and reproduced : the advances likewise are consumed every year at the husbandman's ; for they are nothing but the charges or expences which he is obliged to be at to reproduce them and the income, which is the net produce of the cultivation, after deducting all the charges attending it. If the advances, by being too weak, reproduced nothing but themselves, none but the husbandmen, and the members of the barren class, whose wares the husbandmen purchased, could subsist on the produce of the earth. In such circumstances, neither the state, nor the landlord, nor the church, could expect any thing without breaking in upon the subsistence of the husbandman, and those of the barren class, who supplied the husbandman with necessaries ; without destroying the advances which are the means of reproducing the said subsistence ; in short, without making a desert of the land. And then farewell to all husbandry, manufactures, and commerce !

It is therefore necessary, in order to maintain the opulence, populousness, and power

of a nation, that the husbandman's advances should be sufficient to obtain from the earth the greatest net produce, or greatest income possible; that is, that the productions should be in the greatest quantity, and of the greatest venal value possible. Besides, it imports every nation to maintain herself, by the venal value of the commodities of her own growth, in the most advantageous degree of opulence, relatively to the riches of the nations about her, and relatively to the reciprocal commerce which she carries on with them; for she would lose greatly by selling cheap, and buying dear, in her dealings with them. Such a commerce would redound entirely to their advantage, and would disturb the order of relative riches between her and her neighbours: a thing, which may easily happen by means of a bad police, by taxes, or, in a word, by any absurd regulations inverting the natural order of the nation's commerce.

BUT, to return to the 15*l.* allotted in the supposition of a net produce of *cent. per cent.* to the class of barren expences, to carry on that

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 37

that part of foreign commerce, which procures the vent of such immediate fruits of the earth, as an agricole nation cannot consume.

OF these 15*l.* one half, or 7*l.* 10*s.* are spent in purchasing subsistence for the class itself; the other half is carried off by foreign commerce, which we refer to this same class. Thus an eighth of the whole amount of the productions enters foreign commerce in exportation, in raw materials, and in food for the manufacturers of the country, whose wares are exported to other nations. The trade, called reciprocal foreign commerce, consists in the sales of the merchant ballancing exactly the purchases made by him of the gold, silver, and other commodities, of the nation he deals with.

SUCH is the distributive order, in which the immediate productions of the earth are consumed by the several classes, into which the inhabitants of an agricole country may be divided, and such is the idea we should



### 38 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

form to ourselves of the use and extent of foreign commerce in a flourishing agricole nation, whose government no way obstructs the sale of the immediate fruits of the earth. Thus in a nation, whose territory produces annually one hundred and twenty millions, the annual exportations would amount to fifteen millions. This may be considered as the genuine commerce of a well governed agricole nation, carried on in the immediate produce of its lands. This is the commerce which keeps up the vent and venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth, which makes agriculture flourish, renders all the lands of value, secures his revenue to the sovereign, and his rent to the landlord, and is, at the same time, a certain source of wages for the hands employed in the class of barren expences.

### SECTION

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SECTION III.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
relatively to Populousness.*

[ See TABLE N<sup>o</sup> I. ]

THE reciprocal vents, made by one class of expence to another, distributes on both sides the income of 30*l.* giving 15*l.* to each.

THE landlord subsists by the 30*l.* which he expends. The 15*l.* which he distributes to each class, added to the produce of the land-tax, the tithes, &c. annexed thereto, may subsist a man in each of the two other classes. Thus a rent of 30*l.* and its dependencies, may yield subsistence to three house-keepers.

ON this footing a rent of thirty millions is sufficient to yield subsistence to three millions of families, of four heads each,

WE said, that the annual advances of the productive class, being nothing else but the disbursements made for the reproductions, were repaid by the earth every year; we said likewise, that half of these annual advances, *viz.* 15*l.* went to pay the wages of the hands employed by the farmer in the work of reproduction. Now these 15*l.* maintain another family; and as they stand for fifteen millions, we may reckon another million of families.

THUS then these forty-five millions, which, exclusive of the land-tax, tithes, interest of all the advances, both primitive and annual, would issue from year to year from the earth, would be sufficient to yield subsistence to sixteen millions of souls of every age, agreeable to this order of the circulation and distribution of the annual products and rents.

BY circulation, nothing more is meant here but the purchases made at the first hand, and paid for with the income which is divided between all the several classes of men, exclusive of commerce, which multi-  
plies



Sect 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 41

plies sales and purchases, without multiplying things, and is but a further increase of barren expences. Thus it appears, on the bare inspection of the Table, that the pecuniary amount of the annual rents is sufficient for circulation in the commerce of an agricole nation.

HERE then are sixteen millions of souls subsisted in a state, in which the landlord's rents amount to thirty millions. But we have not as yet considered either the land-tax or the tithes, which, added to the landlord's rents, cannot fail of rendering very easy the circumstances of those sixteen millions of souls, provided the population stops at this number, the best proportion to make a flourishing people; for the richer the agriculture of a nation, the fewer hands she employs in raising corn, and the more she stands in need of exportation to maintain plenty, and keep up the venal value of her productions. A flourishing nation, to enjoy her own annual riches, must buy from foreigners such goods as her own lands don't produce. It is therefore requisite that she

she should ballance these purchases from foreigners by her sales to them of the superfluous part of her own produce. Without such reciprocal commerce, her riches would in time dwindle to nothing; her productions would come to have no fixed or constant price; the annual returns of the husbandman would become precarious; the incomes of the sovereign, the landlord, and the church, would decrease, and the populousness, kept up by these incomes, would be diminished.

MANUFACTURES are very far from being, by the exportation of them, an infallible source of populousness; they may be established any where; they are itinerary, and inconstant, in proportion to the force, with which necessity, or a prospect of greater advantage, attracts them. A nation cannot reckon upon any riches as absolutely her own, but the extent and fruitfulness of her lands. An agricole kingdom can build on nothing but a population maintained in easy circumstances by the riches it draws from its own territory; and such a population will be sufficient to answer all the purposes that can be  
ex-

expected from it, conformably to the state of the kingdom's riches.

IN calculating, how many inhabitants may be maintained in reasonably easy circumstances, by this or any other amount of annual rents, we do not mean to limit or calculate the infinite number of flies who are always to be found about a rich hive; and which, without any infallible means of subsistence, are however maintained by the voluntary parsimony of the bees, and their own œconomy and resignation to put up with the leavings of others. A stranger, who on entering my house, sees a scullion attended by two shoe-blacks at a time, must not from thence conclude, that in rating the wages and perquisites of this scullion, I have allowed so much for this his vanity? By no means. I give myself no concern about it. No doubt he has his own reasons, such as they are, for acting in this manner; and these reasons, combined with an infinite number of similar reasons in the minds of others, yield a livelihood to swarms of these officious and frugal flies called Savoyards. It is thus, that  
be-



#### 44 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

besides the number of inhabitants secure of subsistence in a great state, there cannot but be a great number of others, who, attracted by the smell, croud about the pot, to suck up the scum of it. This portion of the inhabitants, however, will ever be relative to the produce, and as often as the produce falls short, it is, as it ought to be, the first portion that disappears.

WE shall see by and bye how and why the land-tax must be reckoned half the landlord's income. Thus therefore, where the landlord's income amount to thirty millions, the land-tax must amount to fifteen millions\*, and the tithes to seven millions five hundred thousand pounds. These two additions from a stock of twenty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds; and this sum, being an annual income distributed in the same direction with the income of the land-owners, must be divided into subsistence, and the means

\* THESE fifteen millions, by being paid by the land, are raised without charges, and without any taxes upon persons or goods. France, well cultivated, could thus afford a land tax or impost of twenty-two millions and a half, and upwards, without hurting the national revenues, trade, or manufactures. 'Tis the only kind of impost that does not prove destructive in an agricole kingdom.

means of making their circumstances more easy, for a proportionable number of inhabitants.

THE reimbursement of the annual advances, required by these two new portions of income, treated according to the rule heretofore deduced for the annual advances relative to the income of the land-owners, forms another stock of eleven millions, two hundred and fifty-thousand pounds, which reunites with the distribution that extends to all the classes of inhabitants.

IF I have deviated from the hypothesis, by which I confined myself to the consideration of the landlord's income, exclusive of the land-tax and tithes, it was merely to compleat and pursue to the end the calculation of the state's populousness, all the while tacitly understanding these additions of subsistence. All to this, I stick to my first bounds.

THERE are therefore a million of land-owners, whose expences are rated, one with another, at 30*l.* a head, and three millions of house-keepers, who subsist by labour, or lucrative employments. This makes, with  
the

the additions just now mentioned, 23*l.* 11*s.* for every head of a family of this class, as will appear hereafter by the total of the annual produce, which, in the present hypothesis, yields, for the expences of the inhabitants, one hundred and six millions five hundred thousand pounds, from which the personal expences of the land-owners must be deducted; the remainder belongs to the class subsisting by labour or lucrative employments.

THE thirty millions income may be divided amongst a smaller number of inhabitants. In this case, the fewer the land-owners, the more would the expence of their income exceed the consumption which each of them could personally make; but then they would distribute a great deal in liberalities, or gather together other men to help them to consume, what their income allowed them to expend: Thus these expences would be distributed pretty much in the same manner, as if there was a greater number of land-owners, each confined to a smaller expence. The same holds good of the inequality in the profits of those belonging to the other classes, within which the advances, the interests, and the profits  
of



Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 47

of the farmers, merchants, and master-manufacturers, pass into the hands of the persons employed under them. These objects, by successive and reciprocal distributions, afford, in due gradation, profits or salaries, in their turn, to all the members of the lucrative professions. Hence the expences, even of the rich, are no more than a distributive transfer of expences, which extends to all the other inhabitants of a country, in proportion to their salaries.

SECTION

## THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER II.

Belonging to the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Sections of the first Part of the Explanation; in which Sections are considered, 1<sup>st</sup>, three different Kinds of Expence; 2<sup>dly</sup>, their Distribution; 3<sup>dly</sup>, their Effects; 4<sup>thly</sup>, their Reproduction; 5<sup>thly</sup>, their Relations one to another; 6<sup>thly</sup>, their Relations to Population; 7<sup>thly</sup>, to Agriculture; 8<sup>thly</sup>, to Manufactures; 9<sup>thly</sup>, to Commerce; and 10<sup>thly</sup>, to the total Amount of National Riches.

| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c.                   |           |           | Annual Income, consisting of 30 <i>l.</i> Rent, 15 <i>l.</i> Land-tax, and 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> Tithes, in all |           |           | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |           |           |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>l.</i>                                                                 | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |                                                                                                                    | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i>                                            | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| 52                                                                        | 10        | 0         | produce net                                                                                                        | 52        | 10        | 0                                                    | 26        | 5         | 0         |
| <i>... from 52<i>l.</i> 10<i>s.</i> 0<i>d.</i> half goes this way ...</i> |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |
| 26                                                                        | 5         | 0         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 26        | 5         | 0                                                    | 26        | 5         | 0         |
| <i>... half goes from 26<i>l.</i> 5<i>s.</i> 0<i>d.</i> this way ...</i>  |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |
| 13                                                                        | 2         | 6         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 13        | 2         | 6                                                    | 13        | 2         | 6         |
| 6                                                                         | 11        | 3         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 6         | 11        | 3                                                    | 6         | 11        | 3         |
| 3                                                                         | 5         | 7½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 3         | 5         | 7½                                                   | 3         | 5         | 7½        |
| 1                                                                         | 12        | 9¾        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 1         | 12        | 9¾                                                   | 1         | 12        | 9¾        |
| 0                                                                         | 16        | 4¾        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 16        | 4¾                                                   | 0         | 16        | 4¾        |
| 0                                                                         | 8         | 2½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 8         | 2½                                                   | 0         | 8         | 2½        |
| 0                                                                         | 4         | 1         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 4         | 1                                                    | 0         | 4         | 1         |
| 0                                                                         | 2         | 0½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 2         | 0½                                                   | 0         | 2         | 0½        |
| 0                                                                         | 1         | 0¼        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 1         | 0¼                                                   | 0         | 1         | 0¼        |
| 0                                                                         | 0         | 6¼        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 6¼                                                   | 0         | 0         | 6¼        |
| 0                                                                         | 0         | 3         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 3                                                    | 0         | 0         | 3         |
| 0                                                                         | 0         | 1½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 1½                                                   | 0         | 0         | 1½        |
| And so on.                                                                |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |

**TOTAL REPRODUCTION** 52*l.* 10*s.* income, besides the annual advances of 52*l.* 10*s.* and the interest of these annual and the primitive advances, amounting to 30*l.* 5*s.* which the earth restores. Thus the reproduction amounts to 135*l.* 5*s.* including the income of 52*l.* 10*s.* which is the basis of the calculation of half the total annual produce of a plough in a state of high cultivation. Thus, then, it appears, that the entire annual produce of a plough, in a state of high cultivation, may, on an average, be valued at 270*l.* 10*s.*



## SECTION IV.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered relatively to the amount of the impost and titbes.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> II. ]

ONCE upon a time, in a certain nation, which as yet could barely bleat, but was very desirous of being able to articulate, there started up a wiseacre, who proposed to his countrymen a most wonderful project; this was, that every subject should give a halfpenny a day to the government, a contribution, which could not, he said, bear heavy upon any, even the poorest, member of the community, considering that there was not one amongst them, who did not already pay a great deal more upon what he consumed, &c. But, if this country was not, in matter of financial knowledge, *the kingdom of the blind*, at least it did not lie in a very distant latitude.

E

Every



Every thing, or almost every thing there, went in imposition; and nothing, or almost nothing, in impost.

But let me, before I go any farther, take notice of the signification I here attribute to these two words. By imposition then, I mean the whole batch intended for the prince; and by impost, that portion of it which comes into his hands, clear of all the expences which attend the kneading of it.

To proceed. The above project was universally approved, in virtue of that general influence, which even the bare shadow of simplicity has over the minds of men. But it is an easy matter to see by our Table, that the calculation, in consequence of which people may be supposed then to have said, "The king has twenty millions of subjects, for example, men, women and children, and a halfpenny a day for every one of them, that is to say, two-pence a day for every father of a family, poor or rich, makes 41,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a day, and 15,235,867*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year." It is an easy matter, I say, to see, that this calculation supposed, as  
a cer-

a certain fact, that it rained money upon the inhabitants, while they lay snoring in their beds, as it did manna upon the Israelites in the desert; for otherwise, all to the landlord, the subject, who earns nothing, can have nothing; and he who earns has nothing, but what he receives, as an agent or servant in the barren, or the productive class. If he is an agent in the productive class, he is, no doubt, considered as a proprietor, as far as his advances go; but by breaking in upon the interest of these advances, destined to make up the inevitable losses in husbandry, you'll soon break in upon the stock itself. Now lessening the stock, is lessening the reproduction, and of course the income; and lessening the income, is lessening the circulation of the whole state. If, on the contrary, he is only a servant or labourer, his salary, as being but just sufficient to afford him the necessities of life, must be increased to the total amount of what is taken from him. Thus the blow given him re-acts upon the employer, from the employer on the advances, the reproductions, the incomes, and so makes the same round as in the first case.

It, on the other hand, the contributor is agent or master in the barren class, the impost breaks in upon his advances, and he must, to reimburse himself, raise the price of his commodities. Now, as he is paid for them by the landlord, on the one hand, and by the productive class on the other, this throws so much substance over to the barren class, as lessens the reproduction in the same ratio, and disturbs the march of the whole Table. If he is but servant in this same class, he is paid by, and is, as it were, a member of the employer, upon whom his overload bears, as in the productive class, and thence on the commodity, &c.

WE shall discuss this kind of waste in the Second Part, where we shall treat of the disorder, which the Table may suffer by various physical and moral causes ; what I now say of it, is merely to shew, at one glance, that, whatever shape the impost appears in, it is impossible it should arise from any thing but the produce of the land ; and that, unless it is immediately raised upon the net produce which constitutes the income, it loses all stability and steadiness. It loses of its  
strength



strength by the number of its rebounds; of its amount by the difficulty of levying it, a circumstance so favourable to monopoly; and of its certainty, by the smallness of the objects. There is, besides, every moment, the greatest danger of its degenerating into spoliation, and thus drying up its own sources.

ACCORDINGLY, it is directly upon the income, or the net produce, that the author lays both impost and tithes. He omits them in his table, for fear of rendering it too complicate; though, after all, it is in appearance only that he omits them; for he makes thirty millions rent carry along with it fifteen millions impost, amounting, in the whole, to forty-five millions.

THE annual net produce of the land is considered apart from the annual reimbursements of the farmer. This net produce has three proprietors; the sovereign, the landlord, and the church. The landlord can claim no more of the net produce, than the share which he usually receives, since it is according to the value of such share that he pays for the land. The other shares are un-

54    The OECONOMICAL TABLE.    Part I.

alienable. So that it is not the landlord, who pays either the tithes, or the usual regular impost. These portions of the substance do not belong to him. Thus, in short, the regular impost is paid by nobody, but is supplied by the income of that part of the estate, which is the real patrimony of the public. Therefore the land-owner has no right to say, that it is his estate which pays the impost, when the impost is regular. Therefore the three proprietors just now mentioned have a common and lawful interest in the prosperity of agriculture, since they partake proportionably of the opulence it may create.

THIS proportion of the impost to the total net produce, will appear excessive to those, who have never turned their thoughts this way. But, if they will just consider the burthen of arbitrary impositions, whether such as are personal, or such as are deemed territorial; of the taxes on every kind of business, whether mercantile business, or law business, &c. especially the excises on consumption, on the transit of goods from one province to another, and on exportation and importation, &c. If they will read enough  
of

Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 55

of history to know, that there are some countries, not very near Monomotapa, where, in certain districts, an acre under vines is found to yield 72 *l.* to the sovereign, by the various taxes on the produce in all its involutions, and but 1 *l.* 10 *s.* clear of all charges to the owner. If, I say, such persons will but weigh all these exactions in a kingdom already ruined by them, and reflect that they tend to ruin the impost itself, it is impossible they should not see, that the landlords would be very happy to purchase, at the expence even of half their income, an exemption from such a complication of cankers.

IN the main, all the pretended riches, arising from such exactions, are no better than an empty smoke; and, while from year to year they absorb the fund, they gradually lessen the produce, and annihilate all the resources; they even come to nothing themselves, as to the use to be made of them, by the indispensable rise they cause in the price of all the services they are to purchase, as I shall demonstrate, when I come to consider the table in a consumptive state. But they do not bear the less upon the landlord's in-



come, the enjoyment of which they annually deprive him of, and which they intercept at its very source, instead of waiting a little, till it has acquired some strength in its progress; a mistake by which the landlord is doubly a loser.

A WORD therefore to the landlord. Your estate yields 1500*l.* of which you receive but 1250*l.* the remainder being kept by the farmer for the arbitrary taille, with which he is charged; and which both ruins him, and impairs your lands. Besides this, you pay, in expending these 1250*l.* your share of the imposition laid upon mens wages, and upon commodities. Your farmer likewise labours under the same imposition, which is again levied on the produce of your lands. All these impositions put together rob you of above 1000*l.* of the produce of your estate; and this produce, on account of the uncertain and unhappy condition of your farmer, does not amount to the fourth part of what it otherwise would.

BUT let us suppose all the chords broke, which hitherto entangled your farmer, and  
all

Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 57

all the barriers levelled, which hindered his commodities from reaching, in all their immunity, the universal market in quest of a venal value. The net produce of your lands would then be fourfold, at least, what it is at present. The 1500*l.* would amount to 4500*l.* which, after paying a territorial impost of 2000*l.* instead of 250*l.* would turn out for your share 4000*l.* instead of 1000*l.* Your lands would be no longer exposed to those degradations, which continually threaten you with the total loss of your income; besides, you would get rid of the imposition, which, in your expences, swallows up one third of your income. Would you not have reason to think yourself very happy to give up forty to obtain a secure possession of eighty, instead of a very precarious possession of thirteen? This you think impossible; but have a little patience, and you shall see other details, which will remove all your doubts. Again; if, after calculating your profits arising from the productive class, you chuse to consider them with regard to the barren class, you will see, that on account of the great ease manufacturers must acquire

## 58 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

acquire by an exemption from taxes, a rent of 4000*l.* would be equal to 7500*l.* as things now go, since you could afford to consume three times as much. It is true, indeed, that you must consume; for it is consumption alone that can keep up a brisk circulation, according to the order of my table. But surely this cannot be called a grievance. Man seeks only to enjoy, and the only use he can make of riches is to enjoy them. We are desirous to enjoy, I say, as soon as the natural order of things ceases to be inverted by any kind of injustice that may interfere with our enjoyment; and to be able to consume a great deal, is to be rich: for, in this sense, *consumption* and *income* are synonymous terms.

LET us suppose, in fine, that the progressive contribution of one third of the income appears exorbitant; it cannot, however, be called spoliation\*. And this is all the

\* This progression cannot be called exorbitant, as long as it is confined to its legal proportion, being the rightful patrimony of the Sovereign, whose income should be proportionable to the opulence of his dominions. Besides, no other person can claim a right to this third, when once  
set



Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 59

the Author means ; for he does not take upon him to judge of the political wants of a state.

IN regard to tithes, the Author makes them amount to seven millions and an half, that is to say, one seventh of the total net income. It will perhaps be thought, that he has swelled this article too high, considering that no tithes are levied at this rate, or even that of one tenth ; and that in many places they are but one twentieth or one thirtieth part of the produce. There are, besides, several kinds of produce not subject to tithes, as woods, most meadows, &c. But then it must be considered, that tithes are now levied, not on the net produce, but  
on

set apart for his use. Moreover, as this encrease of opulence must depend on the goodness of the government, the benefits of it should reach the throne. A community of interests herein between the Sovereign and subjects constitutes the security of society. Sovereigns, as well as other men, are greedy of riches : besides, they have more calls for riches than other men ; and, therefore, should be excited thereby to co-operate with their subjects for the common good. It would be bad policy to dispute with them their share in the encrease of riches to which they contribute. On the contrary, we should this way awaken their attention, and endeavour to make them more watchful to secure both themselves and us against domestic plunderers and foreign invaders.

on the total produce. Now, to measure the tithes by the total produce, we must have recourse again to the rule laid down in our table.

WE have demonstrated by the table, that the total produce amounts to 135*l.* 5*s.* to which, relatively to the tithes, must be added the very grain necessary for feed, calculated at 18*l.* 18*s.* All these sums taken together constitute a titheable mass of 154*l.* 3*s.* on half the produce of one plough; so that the tithe of 7*l.* 10*s.* is but the twentieth part of this total produce. This is nearly the proportion on an average, at which the tithe must be valued, in regard to corn, wine, cattle, &c. allowing for the other parts of the income, that are exempt from tithes; and it amounts to one fifteenth, or thereabouts, of the titheable produce. Now, if the tithe is found burdensome on that footing, how much more burdensome must it be, when levied on the total produce of a wretched cultivation, which hardly ever pays charges, nay often falls short of them.

## SECTION

SECTION V.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
relatively to the National Cash.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> II. ]

**M**ONEY, the idol of nations unacquainted with the genuine principles of political œconomy; money, which, when it has once gained an ascendant, commits such havock in both the moral and physical concerns of society, is subject to the same rules with all other commodities; with this difference, that, as it scarcely has any usual value of its own, it derives, more directly than any thing else, its venal value from the briskness of commerce, which alone can bestow upon it the quality of riches.

THE cash of an agricole state is nearly equal to the net produce, which it draws from its lands by means of commerce. Some persons,



fons, desirous of forming to themselves ideas of the cash constantly remaining and circulating in the kingdom, tells us, with a great air of certainty: *By examining the books of the mint, the cash coined since such a period was found to amount to 1700 millions; of this so much was carried out of the kingdom by such a war, and so much more by the present; in time of peace, we lost so much a year by our commerce, which in so many years amounts to so much; therefore only so much remains.* Fine suppositions! We may as well pretend to calculate in this manner the number of swallows in spring.

WHEN we coin a great deal of money, it is a sign that a great deal of our money finds its way out, and that it is of a juster standard than that coined elsewhere; or that foreign coin is allowed no currency among us, and that ours is allowed a currency in foreign countries, owing to the extraordinary goodness of it. But there is no more real coin in a kingdom than what circulates. What remains idle, is no better than a marcassite in a collection of natural curiosities,

as

Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 63

as to its quality of an agent, which it thus renounces. In regard to its quality of riches, it is a commodity like any other commodity, all to this, that it takes up less room, and is not liable to corruption. It is, I say, a commodity which waits for a purchaser.

Now, this commodity is not to be acquired by the state, but by giving some other commodity in barter for it; and, as the state, being poor, has no other commodity to give, (for if it was not poor, it would have no occasion for money) it cannot obtain this money but in another way, called borrowing; that is to say, making a promise to return, giving security for the performance of this promise, and sacrificing, from time to time, till the principle is paid, small sums of money to obtain the creditor's indulgence. This burdensome bargain between the state and private persons, is so far from deserving the name of resource or finance, that it ought to be considered as the reverse of both; since nothing deserves the name of resource, but what encreases the strength of a state; whereas this measure serves only

64 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

only to encrease its weakness; nothing deserving the name of finance but the contribution of private persons to the service of the public; whereas this is a charge upon the public in favour of private persons. This onerous bargain, I say, is so far from being a service performed by an inhabitant and a subject, that as long as the state continues to have any *credit*, that is to say, as long as people look upon the state as able to perform its engagements, strangers, and even enemies, will often lend it money on better terms than its usurious citizens; and when the credit of the state begins to totter, it is always the domestic creditor that gives notice of it to the foreign creditor.

THE money, therefore, that does not circulate, is of no manner of service to the state. With respect to that which circulates, and which alone deserves the name of money in a state, as it is but an intercalary equivalent between buyer and seller, it can only be in proportion to what it is to represent: the quantity, therefore, of money in any country will ever be proportionable to the



Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 65

the quantity of production and consumption in the same, and no more.

It appears by the table, that the 30% paid the land-owner in money, are enough to keep up the circulation in the two classes of expences, between which these 30% are distributed. Thus, in the given hypothesis, the total amount of the money is fixed at fifty millions; and it has been observed, that the national cash of England continues nearly at that proportion, which, in the present state of her riches, makes about 26,000,000*l.* sterling\*. If England, therefore, has been obliged by her wars to contract immense debts, it is not because her subjects wanted money, but because her annual public expences exceeded, in time of war, her annual public revenues.

BUT tho' the subjects had money enough to supply the loans, the revenues would, nevertheless,

\* The English themselves do not make it so much. One of their most celebrated writers upon trade has calculated, that the numerary value of the cash, necessary for circulation, is equal to one third of the yearly income of the lands. No doubt, he means the total income, which would bring it to a par, nearly, with the total net produce, or to about 25,000,000*l.* sterling.

66 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part. I.

theless, be, in time, overloaded with debts, and the nation undone, if the sources of her revenues suffered such a progressive waste, as tended to lessen the annual reproduction of riches.

It is in this point of view that we are to consider the state of nations, because money will be always springing up afresh in a nation, whose riches are always springing up without any decay or interruption.

For about an age, that is to say, from 1450 to 1550, there was a great diminution in the quantity of money in Europe, as may be inferred from the price of commodities during that period ; but this decrease of money signified nothing to the different nations of Europe, because the venal value of this kind of riches was every where the same ; and because, with regard to money, their condition was the same, relatively to the income of their lands, which was every where equally measured by the uniform value of silver or money. In this case, it is much better, for the conveniency of mankind, that value should supply the place of quantity,

tity, than quantity the place of value; at the same time that it is indifferent with respect to the riches of a nation, because money in a nation forms but a small object relatively to the total mass of national riches, and is to be considered as riches, merely in proportion to its venal value, compared with the venal value of every other kind of riches.

PEOPLE are apt to think, that it is to the discovery of America Europe is indebted for her greater abundance of gold and silver; yet the value of money was fallen comparatively with that of other things, nearly to the foot at which we now see it, before the arrival of any American gold or silver in Europe. But these general truths make no alteration in the state of the national cash of any particular country, which will ever be proportionable to the income of the immovable estates, and the profits of foreign commerce.

IN the last age, under Lewis XIV. the ounce of coined silver was worth about 3 s. 1 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Thus 95,400,000 ounces were then worth about 15,000,000 l. sterling.



THIS was nearly the state of the coin in France, at a time that she was much richer than about the end of that monarch's reign.

THE general recoinage of 1716, did not amount to one fifth of that sum. The ounce of coined silver went at that time for about 4*s.* 9*d.*  $\frac{1}{4}$ . This recoinage, therefore, scarce amounted to 50,000,000 ounces, which was more than one half less than the general recoinages of 1683 and 1693. Now, this stock of money cannot have increased by the annual coinages, since that period, but in proportion as the incomes of the nation have increased. How considerable soever these coinages may have been, they served less to increase our stock of coined silver, than to replace what is annually carried out by contraband trade, by several branches of our passive commerce, and other uses made of our money in foreign countries; for, by a fair calculation, these annual exports of coin, for the last forty-three years, might be shewn to amount to a very considerable sum.

THE

Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 69

THE augmentation of the nominal value of silver, which has for a long time stood at 5*s.* 9*d.* is no proof that the quantity of the national cash has much increased. On the contrary, we may infer from thence, that it has lessened, since the nominal value was increased, merely to supply the place of reality with appearances.

THESE estimates agree but little with the vulgar notions concerning the quantity of a country's national cash. The common people make the riches of a state consist in money ; but money, like all other productions, is riches, as has been already observed, merely in proportion to its venal value, and may be as easily acquired than any other commodity, by paying for it with some other kind of riches. Its quantity in every state is in proportion to the use made of it, which use is greater or less, according to the amount of the annual sales and purchases in said state ; and the amount of these sales and purchases will be greater or less, according to the amount of the state's incomes. Moreover, money is not to be purchased, but by other kinds of riches ; and, therefore, a nation must

be rich to purchase it; so that the acquisition of money does not add to the riches of him who pays for it; and he cannot enjoy the use of this kind of riches, but by selling it, in his turn, for some other kind of commodity.

THE coin of a nation, therefore, should ever be in proportion to the amount of its incomes. A greater stock would be useless. The nation would soon exchange its superfluity with other nations, for some other kind of riches more beneficial, or more agreeable; for monied men, even the most saving, are always upon the watch to make some advantage of their pelf. Their finding opportunities to lend it in a country at a high interest, is a sure sign, that in such country it is, at most, in the proportion we have observed, since the inhabitants pay so dear for the use of it.

## SECTION



## SECTION VI.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in the estimation of the produce,  
and capital stock of every kind of  
riches.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> II. ]

I AM now going to make an estimate of an agricole, or landed nation's riches of every kind, in that state of its incomes here assumed by us. This estimate is very far from being imaginary, and I thought it necessary to give my readers a detail of it, the better to remove those prejudices, which make all the riches of a nation consist in money. Here we may see the real amount of the nominal value necessary to realize, in point of bargain-making, and put in motion, by means of barter, the general mass of riches; and it will appear to make but the fifty-fifth part of such general mass. Of this a

single glance at the table might have been sufficient to convince the reader; but it is impossible to display, in too many lights, such fundamental principles, as tend to contradict and destroy common prejudices.

THOSE, who hate figures, will be scared by this article; and of those, who do not hate them, such as would gladly lose themselves in the supposed immensity of the funds and resources of a great state, tho' merely to make, on every occasion, a bad use of such a supposition, and love to buoy themselves up with the chimerical multiplicity of the incomes, squandered by the lazy and luxurious members of an usurious state, will be apt to think, that it is confining their ideas to take from them their gilded prospect of infinity.

OTHERS (and they are the greatest number) accustomed to the petty calculations of the riches about them, will think they see billions drop out of the clouds. But all this is nothing to the calculator. It is for the use of men of sense alone, that he has undertaken the task. Those, who apply themselves to the study of such sciences as are most useful to mankind,  
are

Sect 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 73

are not so few as people generally imagine; and they never fail, in the end, to bring over the rest of mankind to their own way of thinking.

*Riches of the class of productive expences.*

I SAID, that lands yielding an income of 30,000,000*l.* to the land-owner, yielded, besides, an impost of 15,000,000*l.* and tithes to the amount of 7,500,000*l.* amounting in the whole to 52,500,000*l.* To this let us add the reproduction of the annual advances, amounting to 52,500,000*l.* and interest, at ten per cent. for these advances, the whole making

110,250,000*l.*

IN a country full of vineyards, meadows, woods, &c. but about two-thirds of said sum would be the produce of the plough. This portion, in a thriving state of great culture, performed by stout horses, would require 333,334 ploughs, at 120 acres to a plough, an equal number of men to drive them, and 40,000,000 of acres.

IN



74 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

IN France, 275 millions sterling, invested in advances, would be sufficient to extend this kind of culture to 60 millions of acres.

WE said before, (p. 25.) that the primitive advances, requisite to set a plough completely agoing in the great culture, or the first expence to stock the land with cattle, instruments, seed, subsistence, wages, &c. in the course of two years labour before the first crop, might be valued at 500*l*. Thus the primitive advances, requisite for 333,334 ploughs, make - - - 166,667,000*l*.

To this sum must be added the interest of these advances, which ought to yield 10 per cent. at the lowest, considering that the fruits of the earth are liable to accidents, which every ten years run away with one year's crop at least. Besides, the machines, &c. purchased by these advances, must be frequently repaired and recruited: on this foot, therefore, the interest of the primitive advances, requisite for the establishment of the farmers, must amount to 16,666,700*l*.

MEADOWS,

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 75

MEADOWS, vineyards, gardens, and woods, cost the farmer but few primitive advances. The value, therefore, of these primitive advances, along with those of the land-owner in plantations, and other works usually performed by him, may be reduced to

50,000,000*l*.

IT is true, indeed, that vineyards and gardens require very great annual advances; however, considered relatively to the annual advances requisite for the other branches of country-business, they may, on a medium, be comprehended in the total of the annual expences already laid down.

THUS, the total annual reproduction in net produce, in annual advances, and interest on them and the primitive advances, valued according to the order of the table, make - - - 126,916,700*l*.

GREAT as this sum may appear, the lands of France might, by means of proper advances and free markets, be made to produce a much greater.

OF

76 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

OF this sum of 126,916,700*l.* we are to allow 26,250,000*l.* being half the reproduction of the annual advances, for the maintenance of cattle, so that there remains (allowing that the whole impost returns into the circulation, and does not eat in upon the husbandman's advances) 100,666,700*l.* for the annual expences of the men.

*Estimate of the stock of productive riches.*

WE are first to put down the primitive advances requisite to set the ploughs agoing, which advances have been already rated at  
166,667,000*l.*

THE primitive advances for meadows, fish-ponds, woods, vineyards, gardens, &c. already rated at - - 50,000,000*l.*

I make no separate estimate of the value and produce of cattle, as I included them in the advances of the farmers, and in the total of the annual products. But I shall estimate the lands, because, relatively to their venal value, they may, in some sort, be



Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 77

be considered as moveable riches, in as much as their price is affected by the variations in the price of the other kinds of riches necessary to cultivate them. In fact, lands are subject to decay, and the owners cannot but suffer in the venal value of them, in proportion to the loss of the farmers by such decay.

THE lands, which annually produce for man's immediate benefit, 100,666,700*l.* of which 52,500,000*l.* are net produce, valued at thirty years purchase, constitute, in this point of view, a treasure amounting to

1,575,000,000*l.*

*Total of the funds of the productive class,*

1,791,667,000*l.*

By adding to this sum the 126,916,700*l.* arising from the annual produce, as deduced in the preceeding case, it will appear, that the total amount, charges included, of the riches of the productive class is

1,918,583,700*l.*

*Estimate*

## 78 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

### *Estimate of the riches of the barren class.*

THIS class, it is known, produces nothing ; consequently, we are to estimate nothing but what it may be actually possessed of.

Now the riches this class is actually possessed of, according to the proportions laid down in the table, are,

|                                                                                                                                                                       |                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1st, The fund of annual advances                                                                                                                                      | 26,250,000 <i>l.</i>  |
| 2dly, The primitive advances for the establishment of manufactures, construction of instruments, machines, mills, forges, &c.                                         | 100,000,000 <i>l.</i> |
| 3dly, The coin or money computed by us at                                                                                                                             | 50,000,000 <i>l.</i>  |
| 4thly, The value of four millions of houses, or lodgings, for four millions of families, reckoning each house, one with another, at 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> a year * | 300,000,000 <i>l.</i> |
| 5thly,                                                                                                                                                                |                       |

\* He values them at twenty years purchase. The houses in France are generally stronger than those in England.

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 79

5thly, The value of the common furniture of the said houses, computed, one with another, at a year's income or gain of four millions of heads of families,

100,000,000*l*.

6thly, The value of the gold and silver plate, toys, precious stones, looking-glasses, pictures, books, and other lasting works of the handicraftsman, which descend from one generation to another; this, in the state of opulence, in which we here suppose a nation, may amount to

100,000,000*l*.

7thly, The value of the ships of war, merchant-ships, arsenals, &c. supposing it to be a maritime state; likewise, that of artillery and other durable warlike stores, and of durable buildings for use or ornament, which are riches merely in proportion to the riches they cost; all these objects may be rated together at

150,000,000*l*.

I omit the necessaries of life, and other commodities, stored up in shops and merchants



86 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

chants warehouses for annual use or consumption, whether produced or made up at home, or imported from abroad; and likewise such goods as are intended for exportation, because they are all contained in the state of annual productions and expences, conformably to the order exhibited in the table.

TOTAL amount of the riches belonging to the class of barren expences

826,250,000*l*.

By adding to which the  
TOTAL amount of the riches belonging to the class of productive expences

1,918,583,700*l*.

THE general mass of riches, belonging to a flourishing landed nation, will, in the given hypothesis, appear to amount to about

2,744,833,700*l*.

WE here speak of an opulent nation, possessed of a territory and of advances, which yield annually, and without decay, a net produce

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 81

produce of 52,500,000*l.* for its annual consumption. But these riches, especially the value of lands, being upheld from year to year by nothing but the annual produce, may utterly perish, or, at least, come to lose great part of their value, in an ill governed agricole state; and this declension may in a very short time be very considerable, through the want of freedom of commerce in the immediate fruits of the earth, and through the annihilation of the advances upon which the reproduction of them depends.

*Noli me tangere!* is the motto of these advances.





## SECTION VII.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in the conditions necessary to the  
free play and prosperity of the  
political machine.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> II. ]

IT appears by the foregoing Table, that in a regular and uninterrupted circulation of an annual income of 52,500,000*l.* an equal sum, which returns into the circulation, restores yearly to the productive class the advances requisite for the reproduction of the same income, and the same advances; wherefore, the continuation of this reproduction supposes,

1<sup>st</sup>, THAT every farthing of the said 52,500,000*l.* income, enters the annual circulation, and runs through it in its whole extent; that no money is hoarded up, or, at least, that as much money is returned in-

to the circulation by some hands, as is taken from it by others ; otherwise the pecuniary fortunes thus amassed, would prove so many obstructions in the course of part of these annual incomes of the nation, keep back the national cash, and thereby impede the return of the husbandman's advances, the payment of the handicraft's wages, and the consumption by the different classes of men who belong to the lucrative professions. This obstruction of the national cash would lessen the reproduction of the income, and the impost.

2dly, THAT no part of the income is exported without an adequate return in money or goods.

3dly, THAT the nation loses nothing by its foreign commerce, which may very well happen, notwithstanding the great profits made by private traders, in selling the goods imported by them to their fellow-subjects. Nay, every profit of this kind is so much taken from the circulation of the net produce of the land, and such a defalcation cannot but

but be extremely prejudicial to both distribution and reproduction.

4thly, THAT the ballance of the gold and silver passing and repassing between the nation and foreigners, is not made the standard of their commerce, without examining what profit arises from the goods themselves, which have been bought or sold ; for it often happens, that the nation, which receives a surplus in money, is the loser ; and this loss affects the reproduction and distribution of the incomes. In a foreign trade, where the immediate fruits of the earth are exchanged for handicraft works, the disadvantage is generally on the side of the nation that purchases the first, because there is a great deal more profit to be had in selling them, than in selling the latter.

5thly, THAT the land-owners, and such as belong to the lucrative professions, do not suffer themselves to be betrayed by any uneasiness, which the government might not foresee, time enough to prevent it, into a barren parsimony, capable of hindering any



part of their incomes, or gains, from being properly circulated and distributed.

6thly, THAT the administration of the finances affords no opportunity to those concerned in the receipt or disbursement of them, to amass pecuniary fortunes, and thereby divert a portion of the public revenues, from the grand operations of circulation, distribution, and reproduction.

7thly, THAT the impost is neither destructive of, or disproportioned to, the mass of the national incomes ; that the augmentations of it keep pace with the augmentations of the said mass ; that it bears directly on the net produce of the earth, and by no means on commodities of any kind ; as, in the latter case, the charges of perception would be multiplied, commerce injured, and part of the national riches annually destroyed. Likewise, that the impost is not levied on the advances of the farmer ; for these advances should be considered as so many immovable goods, which ought to be most scrupulously preserved for the production of both  
impost

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 87

impost and income. Without this precaution, the impost becomes spoliation, and causes a decay, which must, sooner or later, infallibly end in the destruction of the state.

8thly, THAT the primitive and annual advances of the farmer, are sufficient to make the earth yearly reproduce, at the least, double the latter, and 10 *per cent.* upon both. Where either of the two kinds of advance are less than they ought to be, the expences of agriculture will not only afford a smaller net produce, but be much heavier in proportion to it.

9thly, THAT the children of the farmers, by settling in the country, perpetuate a race of husbandmen; for when any vexations oblige them to desert their fields, and take shelter in towns, they carry along with them the riches of their family, heretofore employed in agriculture. It is not so much men, as riches, that ought to be invited into the country; for the more riches are employed in the production of corn, the fewer hands it requires, the better it thrives, and

the more clear profit it yields. Such is the great culture of rich farmers compared with the petty culture of poor cottagers, who make use of cows or bullocks.

10thly, THAT care is taken to prevent the emigration of the inhabitants, who would employ their riches in other countries.

11thly, THAT the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth is no way obstructed, *for the reproduction of a thing will ever be as the demand for it.*

12thly, THAT nothing is done, which may lower the price of the immediate fruits of the earth, or any other kind of commodities within the kingdom; for this would render the trade with foreigners prejudicial to the kingdom. WHATEVER THE VENAL VALUE IS, SUCH WILL THE INCOMES BE. PLENTY AND CHEAPNESS DO NOT CONSTITUTE RICHES. SCARCITY AND DEARNESS ARE THE PARENTS OF MISERY. PLENTY AND DEARNESS CONSTITUTE OPULENCE.

13thly,



Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 89

13thly, THAT the cheapness of necessities are not considered as of any real service to the inferior classes of people; it lowers their wages; renders their life less comfortable, affords them less work, and lucrative employment; and reduces the rent of lands.

14thly, THAT the common people are not debarred the means of living at their ease, for otherwise they could not sufficiently contribute to the consumption of such necessities as must be consumed at home, by which, of course, the reproduction and incomes of the nation would infallibly suffer.

15thly, THAT the multiplication of cattle is encouraged; for it is by cattle that the land is supplied with the manures necessary to yield rich crops.

16thly, THAT the luxury of decoration is not solicited, because this kind of luxury subsists entirely at the expence of the luxury of subsistence, which is that kind of luxury that keeps up the price, and the demand for the immediate fruits of the earth, and  
upholds

upholds the reproduction of the nation's incomes.

17thly, THAT the government does not favour any thing but the productive expences, and the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, leaving the barren expences entirely to themselves.

18thly, THAT, in the extraordinary exigencies of the state, no resources are expected, but from the prosperity of the subjects; and, by no means, from the credit of the financiers; *for pecuniary fortunes are clandestine fortunes, which know neither king nor country.*

19thly, THAT the government avoids such loans, as encumber the public revenue with heavy debts and a heavy interest; and are, consequently, attended with a trade in the finances, by means of transferrable papers, the interest upon which is constantly increasing the barren pecuniary fortunes. These fortunes cause a divorce, as it were, between the finances of the state and agriculture, and so rob the latter of the riches requisite to improve and cultivate the earth.

20thly,

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 91

20thly, THAT the nation, which has a great extent of country to cultivate, and the means of carrying on a great foreign trade in the immediate fruits of its lands, does not apply too much money, and too many hands, to manufactures, and the commerce of luxuries, to the prejudice of her husbandry works and expences; for such a kingdom ought, above all things, to be well stocked with rich husbandmen.

21stly, THAT the lands employed in raising corn, are united as much as possible, so as to form large farms carried on by rich husbandmen; for large farms require less expence of every kind, and at the same time yield a greater net produce, in proportion, than small ones. Small farms employ to no purpose, and at the expence of the land's produce, a greater number of poor families, who have too little land and stock to carry on a rich culture. Such a multiplicity of farmers tends less to increase the number of inhabitants, than an augmentation of the incomes would do; for the most certain populousness, and the most applicable to all the different occupations, by which mankind

is



is divided into different classes, is that, which is kept up by the net produce of the land. Every profitable saving in those works, which may be carried on by means of animals, machines, rivers, &c. tends to the increase of populousness, and the advantage of the state, because the greater the net produce of agriculture, the better wages and profits can be afforded for other services and works.

22dly, THAT every man is at liberty to employ his field in the production of whatever his interest, his stock, and the quality of the ground points out to him, as capable of yielding the greatest profit. No favour should be shewn to monopoly in the cultivation of the earth ; for it would prove detrimental to the general income of the nation. Those governments, which favour the production of commodities of the first want, more than the production of those of the second, to the lessening the venal value of both, act through narrow views, which do not take in the effects of foreign trade, that supplies all deficiencies, and settles the price of those goods, which every nation can raise

to the greatest advantage. The immediate produce of the earth, and the impost, are, in every state, the riches of the first necessity to defend it against scarcity and invasion, to maintain the glory and power of the sovereign, and promote the prosperity of the subjects.

23dly, THAT the government thinks less of saving money, than of forwarding the operations essential to the kingdom's prosperity; for the heaviest expences may be rendered light by a proportionable increase of riches. But profusion must not be confounded with expence. Practices, that deserve the name of profusion, might soon swallow up all the riches of both prince and people.

24thly, THAT less attention is bestowed on the multiplication of the people, than on the increase of their riches. A moderate number of inhabitants, living in easy circumstances, created by plentiful incomes, is far preferable to a greater number pinched thro' any deficiency in them. Besides, easy circumstances afford more resources in exigencies

gencies of the state, than great numbers, and, at all times, better means of making agriculture flourish.

WITHOUT these conditions agriculture, which the table supposes to yield the same produce, as in England, would be a mere bubble. But the principles of it are not the less certain, nor less the genuine principles of the science of œconomical government; by which we do not here mean that trivial science, which has no other object but the cash and finances of a kingdom, and the motion of its money, by a traffic of money, in which the charms of credit and interest, &c. produce merely, as at gaming, a barren circulation. It is only in a compleat knowledge of the true sources of riches, and of the means of multiplying and perpetuating them, that the science of the œconomical government of a kingdom can be said to consist.

AN œconomical government unlocks the sources of riches; riches attract men; men and riches make agriculture flourish, extend commerce, give life to industry, increase  
and



Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 95

and perpetuate riches. An œconomical government guards against any decay in the opulence and strength of a nation. On these plentiful resources depend the success of every other branch of the administration of a kingdom. An œconomical government confirms the power of a state, procures it the consideration of other states, secures the glory of the prince, and the happiness of the people. The views of an œconomical government take in all the essential principles of a perfect government, in which authority is ever ready to protect and do good; ever watchful, and of course ever respectable. It is incapable of committing mistakes; it cannot give any umbrage; it every where supports the interests of the nation, good order, public right, the power and dominion of the sovereign.

EXPLA-

# THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER III.

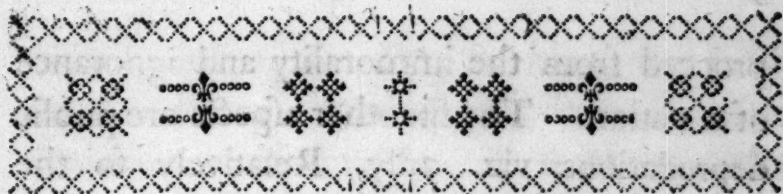
Belonging to the first Section of the second Part of the Explanation; in which Section are considered, Private Depredations, Manners and Civil Customs, Excesses, Luxury.

| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c. |           |           | Annual Income, consisting of 30 <i>l.</i> Rent, 15 <i>l.</i> Land-tax, and 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> Tithes, in all |           |           | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |  |           |           |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>l.</i>                                               | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |                                                                                                                    | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i>                                            |  | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| 52                                                      | 10        | 0         | produce net                                                                                                        | 52        | 10        | 0                                                    |  | 15        | 0         | 0         |
| <i>from sight it so goes there goes of it this way.</i> |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |  |           |           |           |
| 21                                                      | 17        | 6         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 21        | 17        | 6                                                    |  | 30        | 12        | 6         |
| <i>There goes from this way.</i>                        |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |  |           |           |           |
| 12                                                      | 15        | 2½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 12        | 15        | 2½                                                   |  | 12        | 15        | 2½        |
| 5                                                       | 6         | 4         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 5         | 6         | 4                                                    |  | 7         | 8         | 10½       |
| 3                                                       | 2         | 0¼        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 3         | 2         | 0¼                                                   |  | 3         | 2         | 0¼        |
| 1                                                       | 5         | 10¼       | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 1         | 5         | 10¼                                                  |  | 1         | 16        | 2½        |
| 0                                                       | 15        | 1         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 15        | 1                                                    |  | 0         | 15        | 1         |
| 0                                                       | 6         | 3½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 6         | 3½                                                   |  | 0         | 8         | 9½        |
| 0                                                       | 3         | 8         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 3         | 8                                                    |  | 0         | 3         | 8         |
| 0                                                       | 1         | 6¼        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 1         | 6¼                                                   |  | 0         | 2         | 1½        |
| 0                                                       | 0         | 10¾       | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 10¾                                                  |  | 0         | 0         | 10¾       |
| 0                                                       | 0         | 4½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 4½                                                   |  | 0         | 0         | 6¼        |
| 0                                                       | 0         | 2½        | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 2½                                                   |  | 0         | 0         | 2½        |
| 0                                                       | 0         | 1         | reproduce net                                                                                                      | 0         | 0         | 1                                                    |  | 0         | 0         | 1½        |
| And so on.                                              |           |           |                                                                                                                    |           |           |                                                      |  |           |           |           |

**TOTAL REPRODUCTION** 45*l.* 15*s.* income, likewise the annual charges amounting to 45*l.* 15*s.* and the interest, on the husbandman's annual and primitive advances, amounting to 26*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* ½, all which the earth restores. Thus, the reproduction amounts but to 117*l.* 17*s.* instead of 135*l.* 5*s.* by which there is a deficiency of 17*l.* 8*s.* or about two fifths.

*N. B.* The produce, that is to answer the interest of the primitive advances, is made to fall short in the same ratio with the annual advances; for 52*l.* 10*s.* is to 30*l.* 5*s.* as 45*l.* 15*s.* is to 26*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* ½. The 30*l.* 5*s.* in this proportion is made up of the 25*l.* interest on 250*l.* primitive advances, and the 5*l.* 5*s.* interest on 52*l.* 10*s.* annual advances, being half the primitive and annual advances requisite to set and keep a plough a-going in a state of high cultivation. See the Second Table.





THE  
OECONOMICAL  
TABLE.

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PART II.

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SECTION I.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its private Depredations.*

[See TABLE, N° III.]

*Excess of LUXURY.*

LET us now study the Oeconomical Table in a state of disorder. We shall consider it in this respect, but in seven distinct points of view. 1st. In its private depredations; that is to say, in the disorders which  
H proceed



proceed from the immorality and ignorance of a nation. The six other aspects are public depredations, viz. 2dly, Relatively to the spoliation of the productive advances ; 3dly, Relatively to population ; 4thly, Relatively to the coin ; 5thly, Relatively to the police ; 6thly, Relatively to commerce ; 7thly, in fine, Relatively to destructive imposts.

To judge rightly, immorality and ignorance always proceed from some public error. But though it is part of my business to trace to, and correct from, the very roots, physical miscalculations, I am not bound to attack, in the same sense, moral prejudices. When, therefore, I mention the word *Luxury*, it is not to be expected I should throw out against it that abundance of arguments naturally suggested by the bare mention of the word, to every patriot heart. In this place I only speak of physical luxury.

IN the new plate now before us, the Table has lost its equilibrium. Our business is to discover and explain the causes and the effects of this disorder. By the first lines of our explanation of the Table, it appears, that the  
distrib-

Sect. i. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 99

distribution of the church, king, and landlord's income, is what puts in motion the machine of circulation. It is obvious, that more of these expences may fall to one side than to the other, as he who makes them indulges himself more or less in the luxury of subsistence, or that of decoration, which last alone, properly speaking, deserves that appellation.

WE have heretofore assumed, in the Oeconomical Table, a mean state of things, in which the reproductive expences yield from year to year the same income ; but we may easily form a judgment of the alterations that would ensue in the annual reproduction, according as the reproductive, or barren expences, get the start of each other ; this, I say, we may easily form a judgment of, by the alterations that would ensue in the Table.

It is in this state of things that we here exhibit it. We suppose, that the land-owner, &c.'s luxury of decoration has increased one sixth ; that is to say, that they pay 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* more, than they did before, to the class of barren expences, so as to make the whole of what they bestow upon it

100 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

30 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* and reduce what they bestow upon the class of reproductive expences to 21 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* Such is the power of example, that manners soon circulate through all the classes of society; the moral concatenation being every where the same with the physical. This misapplication of one sixth will be the same with the handicraftsman and the husbandman; and the consequence will be, that by carrying on the Table, according to this new arrangement, it will appear at bottom thereof, that the reproduction of the total income of 52 *l.* 10 *s.* which includes rent, tithes, and land-tax, is reduced to 45 *l.* 15 *s.* and the reimbursements of the husbandman, amounting before to 82 *l.* 15 *s.* are reduced to 72 *l.* 2 *s.* The total deficiency, therefore, amounts to 17 *l.* 8 *s.* so that the loss, on this occasion, is about two-fifths.

If, on the contrary, the king, church, and land-owner, increase in the same degree their expence in the consumption or exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, the reproduction of an income of 52 *l.* 10 *s.* would amount to 57 *l.* 6 *s.* and the husbandman's returns amounting before to 82 *l.* 15 *s.* would  
now



Sect. I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 101

now amount to 90*l.* 6*s.* which is an increase of 7*l.* 11*s.* Thus the total increase would be 12*l.* 7*s.* or about one tenth, and would continue at this rate as long, as the land and the labour of the husbandmen could contribute to it.

SUCH are the effects of a constant and uniform raising of the price of commodities of the first necessity; and thus we see how the wiseacres, who do all they can to keep these commodities at a cheap rate, labour, without knowing it, to destroy the incomes and subsistence of a nation.

It appears likewise, by this very simple demonstration, that an excess in the luxuries of decoration may alone very speedily ruin the most opulent nation. It further appears, of what importance it is to support opulence in these different orders of a state, which, according to the common customs of society, may employ their superfluities in the luxuries of subsistence; the obscure rich being, as it were, forced by the prejudices of society to launch into the luxuries of decoration, and kept from those of subsistence, which, at present, would fit ill upon them, and only serve to render them ridiculous.

WE may likewise guess how little the œconomical science was understood in that country, wherein they considered, as a tax upon luxury, a tax upon servants and upon horses, which consume so much corn, forage, and other commodities of the productive class.

IT is therefore false, that all kinds of expence are indifferent.

WHAT we have been just now observing, in regard to the capital expences in the immediate fruits of the earth, all of which yield plentiful returns in an agricole kingdom, is by no means applicable to little trafficking states that have no territory.

SUCH states cannot stint themselves too much in any kind of expence, as it is by means of parsimony alone, that they can hope to preserve and increase the stock of riches requisite for their commerce, and likewise afford to trade at less expence than other nations, so as to secure to themselves a preference at foreign markets. But as to the great landed powers, it is impossible they should thrive, as long as they indiscriminately attribute

tribute their poverty to every kind of expence. It is not to expence itself, but to the peculiar nature of it, that their poverty is to be attributed, as we have already proved; it is to the inequality of the repayments, &c. and still more to the oeconomical arrangements of police, finance, and commerce. This we shall soon examine, after treating cursorily of some errors of detail concerning agriculture.

IN what does the prosperity of a landed nation consist? IN PLENTIFUL ADVANCES, TO PERPETUATE AND INCREASE THE NET PRODUCE OF THE EARTH; IN A FREE AND EASY DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN COMMERCE; IN THE ENJOYMENT OF THE ANNUAL RETURNS OF THE REAL ESTATES; IN PECUNIARY AND READY PAYMENTS OF LAND-RENTS AND THE LAND-TAX.

A PLENTY of productions is obtained by plentiful advances. Consumption and commerce keep up the demand for, and the venal value of the productions. The venal value is the measure of national riches. These riches are a standard for the tribute



which is imposed upon them, and bring in the money which is to pay the said tribute, and which ought to circulate in commerce, but never superabound in a country. Such superabundance would lessen the use and consumption of the annual productions, which are to perpetuate real genuine riches in the state, by reproduction, and a reciprocal commerce.

PEOPLE had better notions than we have, concerning the nature and source of true riches, at that period, wherein history has thought proper to celebrate the procession, with which the inhabitants of *Goodman's-Chester*, in *England*, went to welcome their monarch. They drove one hundred and eighty ploughs to meet him. This was a retinue truly worthy of a king. The bees, so faithful, so obedient, and so affectionate to their queen, never offer her any thing but their sweetest honey. To offer princes a voluntary tribute, and a free gift, is both the duty and the happiness of subjects; but to present them with implements of husbandry, as fructifying under their protection, is to lay before them, at once, the proofs of our gratitude,

titude, the buttresses of their power, and the pledges of our love. It is acknowledging them for the true shepherds of mankind.

RICH husbandmen, and rich country merchants, are the pillars of landed and independent states.

IN the great culture, a single man drives a plough drawn by two horses, and this plough does as much work as three ploughs drawn by two bullocks each, and driven by six men. In the last case, for want of the primitive advances requisite to establish the great culture, the annual expences are immense in proportion to the net produce, which is, in a manner, next to nothing. Besides, this petty culture requires ten or twelve times more land to yield the same net produce. What is worse, when the landowners cannot meet with farmers substantial enough to bear the expences of a good culture, the advances, such as they are, are made at the expence of the land itself. The produce of the meadows is devoured in winter by the bullocks employed in cultivating it, and a portion of the land must be given up to them to graze upon in summer; the net produce of the crop is so insignificant,

significant, that the least increase in the impost is sufficient to make all the parties concerned renounce such poor remains of tillage; a thing, which has happened in many places, merely through the wretched indigence of the inhabitants.

THIS detail of agriculture will, I know, in many places, meet with opposition, from custom and local prejudices. The men of any fortune in the poor provinces, in which one third of the arable lands lyes uncultivated, and almost all the rest are reduced to the petty culture here complained of; these men, I say, will affirm, that the great culture is not proper for their soil, as being too heavy, or too light, for so impatient an animal as an horse; that it costs them little or nothing to feed their oxen all the summer, by letting them run on the commons, and other open grounds; that oxen require neither oats nor barley, nor shoes, nor expensive harness; and a thousand other things. But these are only so many arguments of a methodical wretchedness.

To be convinced of this, we need only consider a substantial farmer, such as may be found



Sect. I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 107

found in some provinces of the kingdom; and see if this man, whose every thought, every step, every action, every sinew, in fine, is continually bent upon some decent profit, and consequently upon the improvement of his farm; if this man, I say, is any way sparing in his primitive or annual advances? Are not his horses the strongest and the dearest, and withal the best kept, of the whole country? Are not his servants the best paid, and the best fed and cloathed, &c. This man, without ever seeing our Table, hits the mark by the mere dint of experience, and knows that his endeavours must prosper in proportion to the good order in which he keeps his servants, his cattle, &c. agreeable to the proverb; *Poor men, poor work,* and to what our Table teaches; *the more is laid out upon land, the more will it yield.*

How comes it then, that so many consider, as a piece of œconomy, every saving in point of forage, harness, &c. Why, because neither they, nor those who were the first to pursue the same method, ever had the stock necessary to establish any other that required larger advances, and was of course capable of yielding larger returns; because the rich  
men

men among them knew so little from whence they derived their riches, that they always found some employment or another for their superfluity, besides that of contributing to the grand work of reproduction.

To prove that a more expensive method would be more profitable, suppose your heaths, and other open grounds, converted into good meadows, yielding a double crop of hay, or well ploughed, and then sown with the most beneficial kind of corn; suppose the forage produced by this management consumed at night near your lay-stalls, by your black cattle, or sheep, or by stout horses, that would do three times as much work as the same number of oxen, and who, besides, require no subsistence but what is the produce of their own labour.

SUPPOSE, moreover, your lands never obliged to lie fallow to recover themselves, but yielding every year the best of corn and forage. This is no chimerical supposition; for this kind of agriculture flourishes among your neighbours, in a less favourable climate. Nay, we may still find some examples of it at home, in the neighbourhood of the

Sect. I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 109

capital ; and it is upon these examples, that this table has been constructed. By fancying ourselves in this flourishing country, and looking a little about us, we may be enabled to form some judgment of our present parsimony, or rather indigence.

THE rich farmer covers his fields with cattle, and by that means obtains those manures which yield rich crops. This is a new species of riches, and the most profitable of all riches.

THIS advantage is to be obtained by the sale, the working up, and the wearing of our own wool within the kingdom ; by the great consumption of meat, milk, butter, cheese, &c. but, above all things, in an opulent nation, by the consumption of the common people, who are the most numerous part of it ; for it is merely in proportion to such consumption, that the demand for cattle can increase, and cattle, of course, be multiplied ; a circumstance upon which the obtaining of plentiful crops essentially depends.

THIS plenty of corn and cattle prevents all apprehensions of famine in a kingdom so fertile



fertile in the primary means of subsistence. The food, yielded by cattle in such a kingdom, lessens the consumption of corn, and thereby enables the nation to sell a greater quantity of it to foreigners, and thus continually add to its riches by the commerce of so precious a production. It is, therefore, plain, that the easy circumstances of the common people, in this manner, essentially contribute to the prosperity of the state.

No distinction is made between the profits upon cattle and those upon corn, in stating the income of the landlord, because the rent of a farm is always regulated by what it can yield both in cattle and corn, in those countries where the farmer's advances are not liable to be absorbed by an arbitrary impost; for where the impost is payable by the farmer, the income suffers by it, the farmers dreading to make those advances, which consist in the purchase of cattle, for fear of bringing on themselves a ruinous imposition; the consequence of which is, that tillage decays for want of a sufficient quantity of cattle to make manures; and the expence of cultivating lands, impoverished for want of proper manures, swallows up the produce,

Sect. I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. iii

duce, and leaves nothing for state, church, or landlord.

THE profits upon cattle contribute so much to increase the yearly value of land, that one may be estimated by the other; and these two branches must not be separated in computing the value of the produce in corn, by the income of the landlord; for the net produce, which yields both the rent, impost, and tithes, is to be obtained more easily by means of cattle, than by the labour of men, which alone could scarcely pay the charges of maintaining them. But great advances are necessary to purchase cattle; for which reason the government should endeavour to invite riches rather than men, into the country. Men will never be wanting in fields, where riches are not wanting; whereas, take away riches, and you take away every thing; the lands lose their value, and the kingdom its strength and resources.

THIS leads us to speak of population, relatively to the order of the Table. But, as we are now speaking of a country, where things are going to rack, I shall consider

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## 112 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

population in that cramped state, to which the petty culture reduces it, and exhibit the totality of circulation upon that footing. Now, to make out the transition from that flourishing state of cultivation and production, according to which we have hitherto directed our enquiries, to that wretched condition, into which we are going to fall, it is fit we should previously make a short calculation of the rapidity of the mischiefs occasioned by spoliation.

### SECTION



# THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER IV.

Exhibiting the rapid Effects of any Encroachment on the annual productive Advances, owing to Taxes, or any other Cause. To do this, we suppose, that 2*l.* 10*s.* are every Year taken from the annual productive Advances of 52*l.* 10*s.* so as to reduce them immediately to 50*l.*

| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c.                                     |           |           | ANNUAL INCOME of |           |           | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |           |           |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>l.</i>                                                                                   | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |                  | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i>                                            | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| 50                                                                                          | 0         | 0         | produce net      | 50        | 0         | 0                                                    | 25        | 0         | 0         |
| <i>... from 51<sup>q</sup>t 52<sup>o</sup>d 51<sup>q</sup> , : . half goes this way . .</i> |           |           |                  |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |
| 25                                                                                          | 0         | 0         | reproduce net    | 25        | 0         | 0                                                    | 25        | 0         | 0         |
| <i>half goes from 51<sup>q</sup>t this way</i>                                              |           |           |                  |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |
| 12                                                                                          | 10        | 0         | reproduce net    | 12        | 10        | 0                                                    | 12        | 10        | 0         |
| 6                                                                                           | 5         | 0         | reproduce net    | 6         | 5         | 0                                                    | 6         | 5         | 0         |
| 3                                                                                           | 2         | 6         | reproduce net    | 3         | 2         | 6                                                    | 3         | 2         | 6         |
| 1                                                                                           | 11        | 3         | reproduce net    | 1         | 11        | 3                                                    | 1         | 11        | 3         |
| 0                                                                                           | 15        | 7½        | reproduce net    | 0         | 15        | 7½                                                   | 0         | 15        | 7½        |
| 0                                                                                           | 7         | 9¾        | reproduce net    | 0         | 7         | 9¾                                                   | 0         | 7         | 9¾        |
| 0                                                                                           | 3         | 11        | reproduce net    | 0         | 3         | 11                                                   | 0         | 3         | 11        |
| 0                                                                                           | 1         | 11½       | reproduce net    | 0         | 1         | 11½                                                  | 0         | 1         | 11½       |
| 0                                                                                           | 0         | 11¾       | reproduce net    | 0         | 0         | 11¾                                                  | 0         | 0         | 11¾       |
| 0                                                                                           | 0         | 5¾        | reproduce net    | 0         | 0         | 5¾                                                   | 0         | 0         | 5¾        |
| 0                                                                                           | 0         | 3         | reproduce net    | 0         | 0         | 3                                                    | 0         | 0         | 3         |
| 0                                                                                           | 0         | 1½        | reproduce net    | 0         | 0         | 1½                                                   | 0         | 0         | 1½        |
| And so on.                                                                                  |           |           |                  |           |           |                                                      |           |           |           |

TOTAL REPRODUCTION 50*l.* income, likewise the annual charges of 50*l.* and the interest, of the farmer's annual and primitive advances, amounting to 28*l.* 17*s.* which the earth restores. Thus, the reproduction amounts but to 128*l.* 17*s.* instead of 135*l.* 5*s.* so that the farmer loses 2*l.* 10*s.* of the net produce, 2*l.* 10*s.* of his advances, and 1*l.* 8*s.* of the interest of his said advances, amounting to the said deficiency of 6*l.* 8*s.*

N. B. Here again the Author makes the produce, that is to answer the interest of the primitive advances, fall short, as in the preceding table, in the same ratio with the annual advances; for 52*l.* 10*s.* is to 30*l.* 5*s.* as 50*l.* is to 28*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* ¼.

SECTION II.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
relatively to a State of Spoliation.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> IV. ]

WE have been touching upon a kind of depredation, which has already done a great deal of mischief, and may do infinitely more, in proportion to the dominions and territory of a nation whose manners have a turn that way. After all, however important this article may be, it is not by its physical effects alone that it can so speedily ruin a nation, and reduce it to that degree of wretchedness, in which we are going to view it relatively to its produce. This it brings about much sooner by its moral effects, in as much as disorder infallibly introduces avidity, ever blind as to the means of attaining its ends. Spoliation is the real source of that decay of husbandry, whose effects are much more rapid and mischievous, than any calculation can make them appear.



## 114 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

By this word *spoliation* I understand every surcharge whatever, occasioned by taxes or otherwise, that bears hard upon, and impairs, that stock, out of which the advances requisite for tillage are to be supplied.

To adapt the Table to this hypothesis, instead of supposing, that the king's, the church's, and the land-owner's shares of the net produce, are unequally divided between the productive and barren classes, we suppose that some of the blunders or misfortunes already mentioned, steals annually 2*l.* 10*s.* from the annual advances necessary for production. This defalcation reduces them to 50*l.* and it is on this footing that we have constructed the Table.

It appears by the recapitulation of the said Table, that the total reproduce consists of, 1<sup>st</sup>, 50*l.* for the king, the church, and the land-owner. 2<sup>dly</sup>, The annual advances amounting to as much more. 3<sup>dly</sup>, The interest of the annual and primitive advances, which, taken in the same progression with the rest, make 28*l.* 17*s.* Thus the total reproduction is but 128*l.* 17*s.*

By



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By comparing this produce with that given heretofore by the Table, when quite free from any burthen, it will appear, that whereas, in that happy condition, it yielded 135*l.* 5*s.* it will now, after the first year, yield but 128*l.* 17*s.* which is a decrease of 6*l.* 8*s.* in the reproduction. In fact, there is a loss of 2*l.* 10*s.* on the net produce, 2*l.* 10*s.* on the annual advances, and 1*l.* 8*s.* on the interest of the annual and primitive advances, which makes in all a deficiency of 6*l.* 8*s.* and all this deficiency is occasioned by the primitive defalcation of 2*l.* 10*s.* only from the fund of annual advances. That the reader may not think himself at a gaming table, I must put him in mind, that our pounds stand for millions.

SUPPOSING that the scourge, by which we have so much suffered, is of a nature to hold for any length of time, we must continue our progression; and then it will appear, that, at the end of the second year, the spoliation, continued at the rate of 2*l.* 10*s.* will amount to 22*l.* 15*s.* at the end of the third

to 64*l.* 13*s.* and at the end of the fourth to 171*l.* 18*s.*

THIS loss, therefore, must soon affect the primitive advances, since the annual advances, amounting in the whole to but 52*l.* 10*s.* would in a short time be entirely swallowed up; here then is a loss of 265*l.* 14*s.* in four years, on the stock of primitive advances requisite to set a plough agoing. We said, that, in a good state of culture, these advances might be rated at 500*l.* therefore a plough, in four years, might be said to be cut in two, that is, entirely disabled, in the same manner that when one horse in a heavy loaded coach and pair founders, the other must stand still.

Now, to avoid so great a misfortune, the husbandman has recourse to the wretched shift of stinting every branch of his advances, retrenching in point of manures, cattle, and servants; he plows with oxen or hobbies, and gives his land fewer and flighter dressings; but it is all one as to the produce; it is no matter in what part of the body a man receives

receives a wound, when the whole machine suffers by it. Thus in agriculture, let the fault lie where it will, whether in the farmer, in his operations, or in the quality of the seed he makes use of, a proportionable failure will appear in the crop, to the loss of the husbandman, the landlord, the church, and the sovereign.

IF it should be asked, why a whole kingdom, in which agriculture declines in this manner, is not entirely waste at the end of eight years? I answer, that the spoliation we are speaking of, is a disorder of arbitrary and successive distribution, which does not ruin all the farmers at one stroke; it may be compared to a multitude of worms, which eat one by one the roots of the plants in a garden, and in time destroy it entirely. I might likewise answer it by the following comparison. There never existed more cruel plunderers, at least among those who plunder openly, than the *Huns*; yet when the people of *Europe*, after repulsing these invaders, had the good fortune to force their strong-holds in *Pannonia*, they found them full of treasure, which, though it bore no

I 3                      proportion



118 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

proportion to what had been destroyed by them all over *Europe*, was still immense in proportion to the little that had escaped their fury. In like manner, every spoliation supposes some holes, where the spoils of the plundered are laid up. But, if these devastations happen to be so far authorized as to render the enjoying the fruits of them in the place where the harpies reside, and if this place happens to be in the center of the plundered country, the consumption and expences of every kind of the inhabitants of such a place, cannot fail of keeping up life within its district, and supporting the great culture there for some time.

NAY the lands of such district being employed in producing things of the first necessity, the delicacy and luxury of the inhabitants would make them seek out for things of the second necessity at a greater distance. The sun is not to be disturbed in his operations, like earthly agents; he would still produce oils in one province, exquisite wines in another, and in a third give a relish extraordinary to partridges and ortolans; and the demand for these things would  
carry

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carry some small sparks of life to the otherwise starved extremities.

THE same sparks, whether issuing directly from the capital, or from other store-houses of bastard subsistence, would still enable some small portions of land, surrounded with vast deserts, to yield a net produce of 20 per cent. on the annual advances of cultivation; while in the districts, employed in furnishing a more immediate subsistence to the principal residence, there still remained some parcels of land in the great culture.

ON the supposition, I say, of a legal and gradual spoliation, this principal residence would be stiled the capital. Now it appears, by the inductions already made, how mad it would be to think of restoring things reduced to this desperate situation, by overloading the capital with taxes, from a notion, that by so doing the other parts of the kingdom would be eased, and supplied with hands, by the vast numbers, whom want of sustenance would then oblige to forsake the capital. No, the wretches would sooner lie down and starve at the gates of it, than bury

themselves in deserts. What can the indigent out-casts of a city expect from agriculture, in countries where the inhabitants themselves can find no employment? Nay, the new burthens laid upon the capital would serve only to wither its district, and dry up all the little branches of vivification, supplied by the expence of the inhabitants, and spreading to some distance.

Worse and worse still would be the system of the man, who, seeing the state exhausted, and without any resource but a fictitious and stagnant kind of riches, should attempt to discredit and annihilate such corrosive riches, before he had found out any other to replace it with: not unlike an ignorant physician, who should attempt to cure the pedicular disease, by killing the vermin as fast as they issued from the patient's body, instead of endeavouring to restore the mass of blood to its natural consistence and circulation, which alone would soon put an end to the complaint. Thus, when a state is poor and oppressed with debts, the government should assist agriculture, break the numberless shackles with which the useful agents of  
that



that respectable class are loaded, honour the profession, have an eye to its success, and, above all things, engage men of sense and understanding to apply their thoughts and their riches that way, by exempting their advances from taxes, by affording a prospect of great profits to rich establishments, and every other possible method. But point out to those rich and now useless citizens, those petty retailers, those paper-blotters, brokers, and second rate financiers, with which our towns are now overstocked, and to the many others, who have taken refuge in them merely to save their little fortunes from an arbitrary and devouring impost, with which the inhabitants of the country are eaten up; but point out, I say, to these men, so greedy of the least profit, the vast treasures locked up in the bowels of the earth; protect them in their undertakings, their expences, and their endeavours, and they will fly in swarms to improve your lands. Besides, the land-owners themselves, especially the grandees of the kingdom, should lay themselves out to favour all attempts to cultivate that precious patrimony which is to secure to them  
the

the enjoyment of their rank and fortune, and free them from the necessity of looking out for other resources less worthy of their great names, and withal less advantageous to the state. By these methods, so certain and so well combined, you may again procure to your fields that opulence from which alone the land-owner, the state, and the church, can expect a large income.

WE have been examining a very different conduct, in the rapid progress of the disorders of spoliation, demonstrated in the Table. Behold how a state is reduced to the sad impossibility of obtaining a greater produce than 20 per cent. on the advances of its agriculture; and that without any premeditated malice or evil designs in its governors, but merely from some capital mistake in the first principles. Nay, such a state may think itself happy in the moderation of its governors, which, the minute the outcry becomes general, makes them often suspend the most necessary operations, though, at the same time, no way disproportionable to the opinion which they have a right to entertain.

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entertain of their primitive strength. But for this moderation, the most fertile country would soon become as barren as the sands of *Lybia*.

I AM now going to exhibit the consequences of such a degradation in agriculture, as, after yielding the husbandman 10 per cent. on the primitive and annual advances, would leave but 20 per cent. on the annual advances for the state, church, and landowner.

SECTION



## THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER V.

Belonging to the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Sections of the second Part of the Explanation; in which Sections are considered the Decay of Husbandry, and the Effects of every Kind resulting from such Decay.

| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c.                                                                                                   |    |    | ANNUAL INCOME of |    |    | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |    |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|------------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| l.                                                                                                                                                        | s. | d. | l.               | s. | d. | l.                                                   | s. | d. |
| 30                                                                                                                                                        | 0  | 0  | produce net      | 30 | 0  | 0                                                    | 15 | 0  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p> <p>In the Case of any Tax, or Loss, on the Sale of the Fruits of the Earth, reducing the net Produce to 20 per Cent.</p> |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 15                                                                                                                                                        | 0  | 0  | reproduce net    | 3  | 0  | 0                                                    | 15 | 0  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 7                                                                                                                                                         | 10 | 0  | reproduce net    | 1  | 10 | 0                                                    | 7  | 10 |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 3                                                                                                                                                         | 15 | 0  | reproduce net    | 0  | 15 | 0                                                    | 3  | 15 |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 1                                                                                                                                                         | 17 | 6  | reproduce net    | 0  | 7  | 6                                                    | 1  | 17 |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 18 | 9  | reproduce net    | 0  | 3  | 9                                                    | 0  | 18 |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 9  | 4½ | reproduce net    | 0  | 1  | 10½                                                  | 0  | 9  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 4  | 8¼ | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | 11¼                                                  | 0  | 4  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 2  | 4  | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | 5½                                                   | 0  | 2  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 1  | 2  | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | 2¾                                                   | 0  | 1  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 0  | 7  | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | 1½                                                   | 0  | 0  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 0  | 3½ | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | ¾                                                    | 0  | 0  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 0  | 1¾ | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | ½                                                    | 0  | 0  |
| <p><i>half goes this way</i></p>                                                                                                                          |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |
| 0                                                                                                                                                         | 0  | 1  | reproduce net    | 0  | 0  | ¼                                                    | 0  | 0  |
| <p>And so on.</p>                                                                                                                                         |    |    |                  |    |    |                                                      |    |    |

TOTAL REPRODUCTION towards the income is but 6l. besides the annual advances amounting to 30l. and the interest of the husbandman's annual and primitive advances amounting to 17l. 5s. 8d.½ which the earth restores. Thus, the total reproduction is but 53l. 5s. 8d.½ instead of 77l. 5s. 8d.½ as in the first Table. Now, out of this 53l. 5s. 8d.½ the poor farmer has his rent of 30l. to pay, besides the tithes and an arbitrary spoliative impost. He loses, therefore, 24l. on his advances and annual reimbursements, receiving but 23l. 5s. 8d.½. The next year he loses all his annual advances; the third year he must sacrifice his primitive advances to be able to do any business, and, after all, at the end of it, throw up his farm, and leave it without heart or seed. It then, of course, falls into petty culture, by which the landlord loses nine tenths of his rent. The land-tax, the earnings and the expences of the inhabitants, the cash of the nation, and the value of its lands, must all dwindle in the same proportion.

SECTION III.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE, in which the Decay of Husbandry, and the sad Effects of such Declension, relatively to Population, are displayed.*

[See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup>. V.]

THIS is the chapter, which first convinced me that I was mistaken, and shewed me in what my mistake consisted. I had looked upon populousness as a source of incomes. An abler man contradicted me. It was my happiness to listen to him, and he has taught me, that, on the contrary, incomes were a source of populousness. If I have not altered my first work conformably to this notion, it is because by the mere weight of truth I recovered myself without assistance in the course of that very performance. It is likewise, because I thought it of little importance in the main to endeavour to conceal my error. It is, in fine, because



because I knew opportunities could not but offer of doing homage to truth ; nor was it long before they did. I have already acquitted myself of this duty in a former discourse upon agriculture. I shall now reason upon, and calculate, the lie given to my own trophies.

I GREATLY doubt, if *Tullus Hostilius*, king of a country, in which, we are told, every family had an acre of land to supply it with cabbages and turnips, whenever they could not make war, and procure better subsistence, by plundering their neighbours ; I doubt much, I say, if such a prince excelled in dignity an overseer of negroes, who, exclusive of their own wretched pittance, raise for their owner a very precious kind of commodity.

It appears by the Table, that nothing can stir without the income ; that it is the income, which constitutes the life and soul of the whole circulation. But no income is to be expected without great advances ; and the advances themselves are not to be expected, unless the produce reaches the column of incomes.

IN



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IN fact, the multiplicity and diversity of the different professions of mankind is not only an advantage relatively to the conveniences of life, in procuring which each of these professions is separately employed, but likewise in as much as it confers the quality of riches upon products useless to one man, at the same time that they are useful to another in a different situation. Without ships we should have no occasion for ship-timber, nor without paint and soap for strong oils.

WE must recollect, that the usual propriety of things gives them the quality of goods; but that it is their venal value alone, which gives them that of riches. Water, wood, game, the fruits of the earth, &c. are goods; but the surplus of what the owner of them can consume, is no riches, unless a demand for such surplus gives it a venal value.

IT is this venal value which forms the relative state of riches between different kingdoms, and even different provinces of the same kingdom; between all the branches of foreign and domestic commerce. Without a relative proportion between the prices of different

ferent productions; there is no order of riches, that can counterballance the effects of a reciprocal commerce, decide the relative power of nations, and regulate both the produce of real estates, and the quantity of it due to the sovereign. For this reason, the venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth should be the principal object of every landed government's attention. Such governments are not to consider the usual value of these fruits, for their usual value never fails in rich nations; whereas, for want of a venal value, the advances, upon which the productions depend, fall to decay; the productions cease; indigence puts a stop to all the lucrative professions of people living in towns and cities; and reduces the inhabitants of the country to the ungrateful labours of a petty culture, whose pitiful produce is scarce sufficient for their own subsistence.

It is the income that gives motion to every profession; it is, therefore, the income, that creates and excites the demands for every thing, and bestows the quality of riches on every kind of produce. It is  
riches

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riches that restore the advances necessary to procure a new product.

AN author, who, in the beginning of this century, published some observations on the agriculture of a great kingdom, takes notice, that the advances did not produce, on an average, above twenty *per cent.* for the king, the church, and the land-owner, exclusive of the husbandman's annual reimbursements, as usual. Here, then, is a deficiency of four-fifths in the net produce, not to speak of the impoverishment of the lands, obliged to bear themselves all the expences of such wretched cultivation, and lie alternately fallow for several years together, to be again able to yield a pitiful crop. At this period, almost all the inhabitants lived in a most abject state of poverty, and were utterly lost to the state; *for the net produce of the labour of men, employed in agriculture, will be as the net produce of the advances above their expences; and the net produce for the king, church, and land-owner, and all the other classes of men in a nation, will be as the net produce of the real estates.* Thus,

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the more insufficient the advances, the less profitable will both men and lands be to the state. The most that can be expected from poor cottagers, who draw a wretched subsistence from an ungrateful cultivation, is to keep up in the country, to no purpose, a populousness destitute of life and spirit.

IT is according to this state of cultivation, that the Table now before us is constructed. We may see by it, how so slender a produce makes the whole circulation of a state languish; and, as it is impossible for things to remain for ever in a languishing condition, it appears how near a nation, in such a condition, must be to its end, relatively to its quality of a landed nation. Commerce, indeed, may support it for some time, in appearance; but the master, who condescends to be a servant, may soon expect to see himself kicked out of the class of servants by those, who are born to fill it.

IT is impossible for population not to descend through this scale of degradation; for, as man does not grow to the earth, and to dig and plow is his pennance, and not his  
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his employment, he is always looking out for some other to live by. Interest, however, will engage him to cultivate the earth, as long as he may do it by means of the animals created to serve him. But you, who would have a numerous people, offer them other employments, and take care to procure yourself, by judicious and stout cultivation, an income sufficient to reward their industry.

THE ruling idea of war makes nations fancy, that strength consists entirely in populousness; but the military part of a nation cannot act, or even subsist, without the assistance of the labouring part. As little is it to be supposed, that the riches of a state depends on the number of its subjects. No, it is only by means of riches that men can acquire and perpetuate riches, and that only as far, as there is a just proportion between men and riches.

NATIONS are too apt never to think themselves populous enough; they never so much as dream, that they want work or

wages to support a greater population; and that men of no fortune are useless in a country, where they cannot find such certain wages as may enable them to live by their labour.

It is true, indeed, that the common people in the country, when not employed by others, may make a shift to raise for their subsistence some few things of little value, which require neither great expences, nor a labour of any continuance; and, besides, take up but little time to arrive at maturity; but these men, these productions, and the lands yielding them, are of no account in regard to the state.

For the earth to yield any income, it is requisite, that the labour of the husbandman should give a net produce, after paying him for his trouble; for it is this net produce that supports the other classes of men necessary in a state. Now there is no expecting this from poor peasants, who till the earth with their hands, or in any other insufficient manner. They have enough to do to procure a pitiful subsistence for themselves  
alone,



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alone, without ever attempting wheat, which requires too much time, too much labour, and too great an expence, to be raised by men, who have nothing but the labour of their hands to raise it with. It is not, therefore, to a set of wretched peasants, that you should leave the cultivation of your lands. Beasts alone should till and fertilize your fields. Nothing but a plentiful consumption, a ready vent, and a free and easy commerce, both foreign and domestic, can secure that venal value which constitutes your income.

It is upon rich men alone that you ought to depend for the establishing of a cultivation, and rural commerce, capable of enriching you, of enriching the state, and of opening a never-failing source of riches, by means of which you may secure to yourself a full enjoyment of all the fruits of both husbandry and handicraft labour, fortify your frontiers, and have always strong armies, and formidable fleets, at your disposal; carry on, in a grand manner, the public works necessary for use and ornament, and afford such wages

and profits, as may tempt industrious foreigners to settle in the kingdom.

THUS, on the police of agriculture, and the commerce of its productions, depends the management of the finances, and of all the other branches of administration, in a landed state.

NUMEROUS armies are not alone sufficient to form a strong defence. Without good pay, you are not to expect good soldiers.

A WAR by sea or by land employs other means, besides the strength of men, and requires other, and more considerable expences, besides that of subsisting them; so that war is to be supported much less by the dint of men, than that of riches; for as long as you have riches to pay men well, you will never want men to recruit your armies.

THE more riches a nation can employ in the annual reproduction of riches, the fewer men, in proportion, will such annual reproduction

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duction require ; and the greater the net produce of agriculture, the more men will be at the disposal of the government for public works, and every other public service ; the higher wages are, the more useful will these men be to the state by their labour, and by their expences, which carry these wages back into circulation.

VICTORIES, in which you do your enemy no other mischief, but kill him men, can weaken him but little, as long as he has wherewith to invite others into his service. An army of 100,000 men may be as good as an army of a million ; for no army, where pay never fails, can ever be destroyed. It then, too, becomes the interest of the soldiers to stick to their colours, since they cannot expect better pay in any other service. It is, therefore, riches that supports the honour of arms, and recruits armies ; and with how much more reason must riches be allowed to support and extend every other kind of population ?

LET us again give a look at the Table, in order to be convinced of the sad condition,



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to which an unprofitable cultivation reduces both the proprietary and handicraft class, and judge what must be the state of populousness, when the whole territory has no other subsistence to offer its inhabitants, but the few wretched and precarious necessities, suited to the meanest class of labourers, required by a cultivation incapable of yielding any net produce,

LET us now examine, if money, which is so much idolized, can, on this occasion, supply the place of real riches.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its Disorders relative to Money.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> V. ]

— *Parvis componere magna solebam.*

WE are wont to calculate the riches of states, as we do that of individuals; and, because a private man, who has money, has all, or almost all, manner of physical goods at his command, we imagine it must be the same in regard to nations. But suppose this private man, transported with all his gold and silver, into the heart of some desert. He would there infallibly perish with cold and hunger, tho' seated upon this treasure, which he had purchased with other riches: (for money is bought, and no man can have it, but in proportion as he has other riches to pay for it) therefore, to acquire money, is not to acquire riches; it is only changing one kind of riches for another; which shews,  
that

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that it is the neighbourhood of other goods, and the conveniency of exchanging money for them, that gives to money the quality of riches.

THOUGH the rich man, above mentioned, had millions at his disposal, if, when pressed by necessity, two persons were to present themselves before him, one with bread, and the other with water, and refused him the least quantity of either, for less than his whole treasure, he would be obliged to come into their terms, and part with all for a day's subsistence.

Now, this individual is a true picture of the state which has lost its produce; with this difference, that the individual retains his gold and silver, whereas a nation, which has no stock of riches left, cannot be supposed to have either, unless it can draw them directly from the earth.

MONEY, that species of riches which is purchased with other riches, is nothing in a nation, *but an intermediate pledge between buyers and sellers*, which ceases to contribute  
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SECT. 4. THE OECONOMICAL TABLE. 139

to the perpetuation of riches in a state, the moment it ceases to circulate, or yield riches for riches. Nay, in this case, the more it is hoarded up, the more riches it cost, by putting a stop to the renewal of riches, and, consequently, the more it impoverishes a nation.

MONEY, therefore, is no better than an active kind of riches, which is of no real advantage to a state, but in proportion as it continually yields riches for riches. The sole use of it in a state, is to facilitate sales and purchases, and the payment of the king's, the church's, and the land-owner's income, which again make it circulate; so that the same money serves continually, and in rotation, for these payments, and the purposes of commerce.

THUS the mass of money, in a landed state, is ever found to be nearly equal to the net produce, or annual income of its lands; for even in this proportion it is more than sufficient to answer all the purposes of the nation. A greater quantity of money would  
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be no riches to the state. For tho' the impost is paid in money, it is not money that yields it, but the riches which the lands are annually reproducing. It is in the amount of these perpetually renaſcent riches, and not in the amount of its money, as the vulgar think, that the proſperity and ſtrength of a nation conſiſt.

MONEY cannot indemnify a ſtate for any deficiency in the ſucceſſive renovation of this kind of riches ; whereas the place of money is eaſily ſupplied, in trade, by engagements in writing, ſecured by the riches poſſeſſed in the country, and exportable to foreign markets.

THE love of money is a very ſtrong paſſion in individuals, who forget they were obliged to buy it, becauſe they are indiſcreetly greedy of that which purchaſes other riches. But this kind of greedineſs, excluſive of its object, ought not to be the paſſion of the ſtate.

A GREAT ſtock of money is no further deſirable in a ſtate, than as it is proportioned to the income, and thereby indicates perpetual reproduction

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reproduction of opulence, the employment of which is real, and perfectly secure. Of this kind was that plenty of money, which, in the reign of our *Charles V.* surnamed *The Wise*, kept pace with the plenty of every other kind of riches in the kingdom. We may form some idea of it, by the riches specified in the immense inventory of that prince, exclusive of a reserve of 1,350,000*l.* (equal to about 12,500,000*l.* of our money at present) which was found in his coffers; these great riches are so much the more remarkable, as one third of the kingdom of *France*, such as it then was, did not bring him in any thing.

MONEY, therefore, is not to be considered as the riches of a state, as that riches which is continually consuming and springing up again; for money does not engender money. A crown well employed may, it is true, give birth to riches worth two crowns; but then it is the riches acquired by means of the money, and not the money itself, that has multiplied. It is only by yielding riches for riches, that money may be said to give birth to new riches. Money, therefore, ought not to stagnate in idle hands.

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It is not, therefore, such matter of indifference to the state, into what hands money gets; for it is absolutely necessary, that it should not be wrested from him, who employs it for the benefit of the state. But, strictly speaking, money thus employed in a nation, has no owner; it is to answer the demands of the state, which make it circulate for the reproduction of riches capable of yielding subsistence to the nation, and tribute to the sovereign.

WE are not to confound this money with that devouring wealth, whose owners do nothing with it but lend it out at interest, thus eluding that contribution, which every real income owes to the state.

THE money, of necessity, has, I say, with every individual, a destination to which it decisively belongs. That, which is destined to the actual payment of the impost, belongs to the impost; that, which is destined to make any necessary purchase, belongs to that purchase; that, which gives life to agriculture, commerce, and industry, belongs to agriculture, commerce, and industry; that, which is to pay a debt, which is already,  
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or will soon be due, belongs to that debt, &c. and not to the person who has it. It is the nation's money. No individual has a right to lend it, because it does not belong to any individual.

It is, nevertheless, this money scattered here and there, which forms the principal mass of wealth of a truly opulent kingdom, in which it is constantly employed for the advantage of the state. Nay, people do not scruple to sell it for more than it has cost them; that is to say, to export it to purchase foreign commodities, when they yield a sure profit; nor are foreigners unacquainted with the advantages of this trade, in which profit decides whether money shall be given for commodities, or commodities for money; for in all places money and commodities are riches, merely in proportion to their venal value.

MONEY, that lies idle, that cannot be reproduced, is an inconsiderable object, soon exhausted by a small multiplication of loans. It is money, nevertheless, that is perpetually dazzling the vulgar; it is this object alone, that they consider as the riches of a nation, and as a great resource in the exigencies of a state,

a state, even a great state, which cannot be really rich, but by the net reproduce of those riches, which its lands annually afford. It is this produce, which, as it were, gives new birth to money, by renewing it, and constantly accelerating its circulation.

BESIDES, every kingdom, which the export of its productions has enriched, has, by means of the correspondence it keeps up with other kingdoms, a stock of riches in them, and may every where make money out of paper.

THE plenty and free sale of its productions secure to it, therefore, the use of the money belonging to other countries; and, in a well cultivated kingdom, money is never wanting to pay the king, church, and landowner their share in the net produce of those commodities fit for trade, which the earth is constantly reproducing. But tho' money is never wanting to pay them, we must not mistake the matter, and imagine, that the tribute due to the king may be imposed upon money.

A GOVERNMENT, therefore, should never confine its views to money. It ought to  
look



look further, and bestow its chief attention on the plenty and venal value of the productions of the earth, in order to encrease as much as possible its net produce. It is in this portion of visible and annual riches, that the power and opulence of the monarch, and the prosperity of the nation, consist; it is what fixes the subjects, and ties them down to their native soil.

MONEY, the labour of the handicraftsman, trade, and commerce, form but a bastard and independent domain, which, without the riches of the soil, can only constitute a republican state. *Constantinople* itself, though no republican government, by being reduced to the moveable riches of traffic, has, in the midst of despotism, the genius and independence of a republic, in regard to the loose and unstable state of correspondences, and commercial riches.

LET us, therefore, strip money of all the properties attributed to it by prejudice; for they are altogether imaginary. We may as well attribute to a whip the power of draw-  
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ing a coach, because it puts in motion the six horses that really draw it ; place the whip between six trees, and see if it will make them stir. In the same manner, money works miracles in places, where there is a brisk barter of necessaries. For example, a man at Paris, who to-day has nothing but gold, may to-morrow, if he pleases, have plate, servants, and a sumptuous table ; but place him in some of the provinces, and it will take him a month to prepare for an elegant entertainment.

MONEY, therefore, is riches merely in virtue of its permutability : nor can it have this value but in proportion to the demand for it, which demand will always be as the quantity of barter ; therefore the quantity of money in a country will be as the circulation of riches and necessaries : at least, one may say of money that does not circulate, what is said in the fable of the miser's hidden treasure ; *Put a stone in its place, and it will be worth you as much.*

THIS granted, let us return to our Table, and survey it in the wretched condition to which

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which it has been reduced by a paltry cultivation, that yields but one-fifth of the annual advances, besides the said annual advances, and 10 per cent. on them and the primitive advances; and let us examine how far the circulation now extends, and how much it is impaired; for then we may judge what quantity of money, in such a country, is really employed in the service of the public.

No doubt, a nation reduced to so low an ebb, in regard to its stock, may still afford a retreat in some parts of its territories to those communities of merchants, whose industry borrows motion from foreign countries, and still imparts some action to the neighbouring districts; and some of those merchants may possibly accumulate pecuniary fortunes to the prejudice of the annual reproduction of riches. The depredations committed, in levying the public revenue, may likewise produce some stores of money, *the melancholy remains of the best blood* of the nation; fortunes, which, however shocking to those who only consider how ill they



become their owners, are nothing in the main to the riches by them absorbed in a great state. They are indeed money ; but then it is so much money diverted from the purposes of reproduction, and which never would have been accumulated, had it found a place in circulation, which can only receive of it in proportion to the quantity of circulating and renaſcent riches ; ſuch riches, in a word, as are to be repreſented, conſumed, and reproduced : it cannot, I ſay, re-enter this circulation, weakened at its ſource, till all the money actually circulating ſhall have been pumped out of it, till it fails, in fine, and extreme neceſſity obliges people to replace it by purchaſing it back at a rate, that makes the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe.

THIS miſfortune muſt quickly happen in a nation, which has loſt its renaſcent riches, ſo as to find itſelf much in the ſame condition with the man we juſt now ſuppoſed in a deſart, with nothing but money to eat and drink. On ſuch occaſions recourſe muſt be had to the money lying dead in private hands ; but the ſtate can only borrow it  
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from week to week, and must, besides, give good security for the loan of it. This is every day the case. But the husbandman must not borrow; for borrowing would ruin him, or, at least, the interest of what he borrowed should be deducted from the net produce to the prejudice of the proprietary class, as otherwise it would eat up the husbandman's annual re-imbursements and resources. Thus the farmer can trust to nothing but his own riches for a solid and certain establishment. Hence the ruin of the farmer is always attended with the ruin of agriculture, the ruin of the landlord, and the ruin of the state, how opulent soever the financier, the usurer, and the stockbroker may be; and, after all, this opulence of theirs is no better than the poor remains of the immense riches, ravished by these harpies from the important purposes of reproduction.

SUCH is the point of view in which money is to be considered in a state; and such is all its influence, every way incapable of regenerating a nation, which obstructs, or even neglects, the great business of reproduction.

## SECTION





SECTION V.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its Disorders relatively to the  
Police.*

[ SEC TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> V. ]

WE still leave before our readers the Table in that state of declension, to which a poor and insufficient cultivation has brought it, as we are going to enquire into the causes of that wretchedness to which such a decay of agriculture is owing; a decay, that is constantly accelerating in proportion to its continuance.

THE man, who has by this ever so little acquired a facility of arguing in the manner adopted by us in the Table, must easily discern, that moral as well as physical causes may serve to overturn the balance in the article of expences, and by increasing the share of the barren class, proportionably dry up the sources of the proprietary class, upon whose wealth that of the barren class itself, in the end, totally depend.

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IT is obvious, for example, that law-expences ought to be placed in the class of barren expences, and that whatever tends to increase expences of that kind must, for that very reason, be a cause of decay. Hence it follows, that in a country where the laws are so faulty, that every head landlord, or under landlord, is obliged to be in continual motion, to obtain justice or injustice, favour or advancement, &c. the expences created thereby are so many weights taken from the scale of productive expences, and thrown into the scale of barren expences, which must of course preponderate. If, moreover, dissoluteness and effeminacy happen to prevail to such a degree, as to extinguish all respect for domestic hierarchy, and render unthinking youth the arbiter of family expences, it is probable that these expences will be double what they ought to be in the barren purchase of trifles and luxuries; whereas provident age delights in what is solid and useful. And this evil, once become general, cannot, on account of the great number of co-operating causes, but be attended with a very considerable decay.

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WERE the laws to favour this evil by the connivance, however, involuntary, of those charged with the interpretation of them; were the police, under the pretext of foreseeing every thing, to free the child from all parental, and the servant from all magisterial restraints; were it to provoke taste for barren expences, under the notion of increasing the profits of the retailers and artificers of luxury; were it to abandon the honest peasant to contempt, oppression, and poverty, and thereby ruin husbandry; were it to favour the multiplication of law-suits, and multiply the terrible tools of chicane, in order to increase the stamp duties; were it to lower the price of the immediate fruits of the earth to support manufactures; were it to annihilate the sale, venal value, and reproduction of commodities, by heavy imposts upon them, &c. all these things might be justly considered as so many disorders in manners, omens of ruin, and excressences of barren expences.

IT is thus, that by a single glance of the understanding upon our Table, a man may, in an instant, discover the real value of  
every



every law, of every civil ordinance, even those which do not appear to have any other than a moral tendency. But the conciseness of this explanation will not permit us to enlarge further on this head; let us, therefore, return to the physical points of police, more immediately connected with the object of our present enquiry.

THERE is no absurdity, which a spirit of refinement, grafted upon wrong principles, is not capable of engendering. I would not take upon me to swear, that with a little pains we might not discover some landed states, in which private views had so far led people astray, as to make them believe, it was proper to restrain the cultivation of vines to increase that of wheat; and that, too, at a time, when the exportation of corn was forbid, and even the domestic commerce of it between province and province obstructed; at a time, when most of the lands lay fallow, because the cultivation of corn was confined to the consumption of the province that produced it; at a time, in short, when the decay of vine-culture, and the  
impost

Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 155

impost upon wine, increased the fallow lands from one year to another.

IT is very possible, that in these circumstances the provinces remote from the capital should have been obliged to make representations against the increase of tillage, as their corn, for want of sale, became a drug upon their hands, to the utter ruin of both farmers and land-owners, and the annihilation of the impost the lands were charged with. Thus every thing conspired to wither the two principal branches of cultivation of the kingdom, and sink to nothing the value of real estates; some of the land-owners endeavouring to procure exclusive privileges of culture, to the prejudice of the rest; fatal effects of prohibitions and obstructions, affecting the commerce of the productions of landed estates, especially in a kingdom, where there is such an easy communication between the provinces by sea and by rivers, where the capital, and all the other cities, can be so easily supplied with provisions from every part of its territories, and where the facility of exportation secures a ready sale for all its superfluities.

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THERE is no branch of country business equal to the cultivation of vines ; for, in general, the net produce of an acre under vines is, at least, double that of the best acre under corn. We are, besides, to take notice, that the charges required by the former are of a more beneficial nature, than those required by the latter ; because the culture of vines affords, even with profit to the employer, much better wages to the hands employed in it, because the demand for poles and casks creates a demand for timber ; and, lastly, because the hands employed in the cultivation of vines are not taken up by it in harvest time, and are, therefore, a great resource to the husbandman, in getting in his corn.

BESIDES, this class of men, being paid for their labour in the produce of the land itself, and by growing very numerous, increase the demand for both corn and wine, and keeps up the venal value of these articles, in proportion as the cultivation extends, and such increase of cultivation increases riches ; for the increase of riches is attended with an increase of populousness in every rank  
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of the state, and this increase of populousness supports, on all hands, the venal value of the immediate productions of the earth, and, consequently, the income of the king, the church, and the land-owners.

It is to be noted, that a facility of exporting the immediate productions of the earth, free from heavy taxes and duties, is a great advantage to a nation blessed with an extensive territory, in which the culture may be so varied, as to make it yield a great variety of valuable commodities, such, especially, as cannot grow in the neighbouring countries.

UNRIVALLED, therefore, as we are in the production of wines and brandies, through the nature of our soil and climate, the exportation of them should be particularly favoured by the government, instead of being loaded, as it is, with heavy burthens, multiplied to the great loss of the revenue itself, and too prejudicial to the vent of productions, which form the object of a great foreign trade, a trade capable of supporting the opulence of a great kingdom. The impost should be simple and unincumbered,  
and

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and laid on the soil, which produces these riches; and in the repartition of the general impost, regard should be had to those commodities, whose sale in foreign markets depends upon the reasonableness of their price; for then the state is amply indemnified for the smallness of such impost, by the advantageous influence of this commerce upon all the kingdom's other sources of riches. But let us not anticipate the article of imposts.

I SHOULD be wanting to myself, as a man, if, speaking of the police in general, I omitted saying a word or two of that terrible scourge, one of the three which God was pleased to give the choice of to sinful *David*, and to which this prince preferred the plague; I mean the *police of corn*. I see only with the eyes of a calculator.

By putting a stop to the exportation of corn, and other immediate productions of the earth, you confine your agriculture to your state of populousness, instead of making your agriculture a means of increasing your populousness.

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Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 159

THE exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth increases the annual value of real estates; this increase of their annual value increases the expence of the land-owners; this increase of expence draws people into the kingdom; this increase of populousness, increases the consumption of the immediate fruits of the earth; this increase of consumption, along with exportation, accelerates on all sides the progress of agriculture, populousness, and increases, in its turn, the annual value of real estates.

By means of a free and easy exportation and importation, corn is always kept at an equal price; for the most equal price is that, which prevails most universally among trading nations. Such a commerce ever compensates the casual inequalities in the crops of different nations, by bringing to that country, where any scarcity happens, the superfluity of that where plenty prevails; thus making the quantity of productions, and the prices of them, always and every where equal.

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HENCE, trading nations, that have no lands to supply them with corn, are, notwithstanding, as secure of bread, as those which cultivate a large territory. Freedom of commerce, and the least advantage in point of price, must infallibly draw goods into a country, and by that means keep things constantly at, or very near, the same standard.

Now, it has been demonstrated, that, independently of exportation, and even the advantage of a better price, a constant equality of price is alone sufficient to increase, by one-sixth, the net produce of real estates; that it increases and secures the advances of cultivation; that it prevents excessive dearths, which hurt populousness, and that it hinders commodities from becoming a drug, to the prejudice of agriculture; whereas, a prohibition of foreign trade is often attended with a dearth of necessaries; a cultivation too nicely adjusted to the annual demands of a nation, reduces the price of provisions to the same fluctuation, that is occasioned in the harvest by good or bad weather, and brings great part of the lands to yield little, and  
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Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 161

be worth little; the uncertainty of sale creates uneasiness among the farmers, puts a stop to the expences of cultivation, lowers the rent of land; and this decay increases from day to day, in the same proportion with the insidious precautions, taken to prevent it.

If, by way of preventing a scarcity of corn, the government should not only forbid the exportation of it, but hinder dealers from filling their granaries with it in plentiful seasons, which ought to provide against bad ones, and likewise obstruct the multiplication of those free magazines, where the competition of dealers renders a monopoly impossible; procures the husbandman a market in times of plenty, and produces plenty in the midst of sterility: then, from the self-same principles of such a timorous administration, and so ill adapted to a landed nation, which nothing but a ready sale of, and a good price for its productions, can enrich; from the self-same principles, I say, we may as fairly conclude, that it would be equally proper to restrain, as much as possible, the home-consumption of corn, by reducing the common people

to the use of potatoes, black wheat, acorns, and the like; and even make it a crime to send corn from the provinces where it abounded, into those which wanted it, and which had been robbed of it, by special or furtive licences.

WHAT abuses, what monopolies, must flow from such an arbitrary, and destructive police! What would then become of agriculture, of the proprietary and manufacturing classes of men, of the strength of the kingdom?

I SHALL not repeat in this place, what has been said so often, in answer to the mistaken apprehensions of some people concerning the danger of corn's becoming too dear for the common people. If the summary demonstrations, which result from the explanation of the Table, are not found sufficient to remove them, the reader may consult what I have written more at large upon this subject, in the discourse I had the honour of presenting to the society at *Berne*.

THIS naturally leads us to the article of commerce.

## SECTION



SECTION VI.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Depredations relatively to Commerce.*

[See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup>. V.]

COMMERCE so far resembles light, that, though it creates nothing, it gives life to all things.

WE should here recollect, what has been already said concerning the difference between *goods* and *riches*. A distinction ought to be made in every state between *goods* which have an *usual* value, but no *venal* value, and *riches* which have both an *usual* and a *venal* value. For example, the savages of *Louisiana* had great plenty of goods; such as water, wood, game, the fruits of the earth, &c. these, however, could not be called riches, as they had no *venal* value: but since some branches of trade have been opened between them and the *French*, the

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*English*, and the *Spaniards*, &c. part of these goods have acquired a venal value, and of course the quality of riches.

THUS *the government of every kingdom ought to aim at procuring to its subjects the greatest plenty possible of productions, and to these productions the greatest venal value possible; because with great riches a nation, by means of commerce, may procure all manner of usual goods, besides gold and silver, in a proportion suitable to its riches.*

WE are not to consider commerce as an increase of stock. It is true, indeed, that a reciprocal commerce with foreigners brings in commodities, but these commodities must one way or another be paid for by the nation. Commerce, therefore, is not to be considered as a separate object in the detail of a kingdom's income. It is with commerce as with house-rent, and interest of money, which are, to those who pay them, expences that arise from another source. It is otherwise, indeed, with regard to land-charges, which are laid upon a productive fund; but then these land-charges are included

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cluded in the net produce of the lands. The earth, and the farmer's advances for the cultivation of it, are the only source of incomes in a landed nation; but these incomes would vanish into smoke, were it not for the value which commerce gives to the fruits of the earth; nay, in a short time, these fruits would be confined to the slender consumption of the master.

DOMESTIC commerce, is, properly speaking, what we stile circulation; and that circulation is most beneficial which consists in buying and selling at the first hand; for the oftener the same thing is bought and sold, though the buyers and sellers should be subjects of the same state, the more does domestic commerce become onerous to them. And it is in this light we ought to consider the merit of a tradesman in the domestic commerce of a nation.

THE foreign trade, or that of exportation, may extend, as appears by the explanation of the Table, to about one-eighth of the total annual produce of the earth. This exportation may be termed actual, if such



eighth part is exported in kind; and virtual, if it is consumed at home by handicraftsmen, whose works are exported. Such is the general idea of the commerce of a landed state, considered in its rise, in its growth, and in its usefulness.

COMMERCE, therefore, gives life and the quality of riches to the immediate productions of the earth, and of course existence to the incomes and power of a nation. But we are not to confound in the idea, which we form to ourselves of this great political agent, all those subservient agents, which a landed nation can very well dispense with. By this means we should little by little deify the insects bred in the mud of this *Nile*, such as stocks, *agio*, &c.

NOT to speak of these last, which are no better than so many evolutions of usury, the others, which are useful to nations that have no territory, and even to landed states, which have more subjects than the plough and spade can employ, don't deserve the direct attention of the government. The head  
of

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 167

of a great landed state, who should employ his power to render his subjects a trading people, to the exclusion of all others, might be compared to a man of fortune, who should take it into his head to drive his own coach, and cook his own victuals, to save the wages of a coachman and a cook.

How many wars might have been avoided in the last century, and might still perhaps be avoided, would people but consider the petty commercial states as the commercial agents of the great ones, and be persuaded that it is more advantageous for the first to trade by means of the second, than to charge themselves with the different branches of commerce, which cannot fail of proving more expensive, and less profitable to them, than it would be to procure themselves, at their own doors, a great competitorship of foreign merchants, and thereby effectually prevent all monopolies by their own merchants.

*ADURAM*, comptroller-general of the finances of the late king *Solomon*, unfortunately

nately dazzled by the commerce of the *Tyrians*, and the splendor of luxurious manufactures, raised such a ferment in the brains of all his countrymen, that they no longer spoke of any thing but commerce and money, without ever so much as dreaming of the true and genuine commerce of their country.

THIS minister, valuable in other respects for his good intentions, but too attached to his own way of thinking, set about squeezing riches from the work of the fingers, even to the prejudice of the true source of riches, and for this purpose disturbed the whole œconomical constitution of a landed nation. The exportation of corn was prohibited, to enable the manufacturer to live cheap. The corn-trade at home was put into the hands of an arbitrary police, which interrupted the commerce between the provinces. The protectors of handicraft business, the intendant of provinces, and the magistrates of cities, in order to procure themselves corn at an easy rate, ruined, in consequence of a mistaken calculation, both their towns and their provinces,



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vinces, by insensibly lessening the culture of their lands. Every measure tended to the destruction of land-rents, handicraft-works, manufactures; and even commerce, which, in a landed state, can only be supported by the produce of the land; for it is this produce which supplies commerce with superfluities for exportation, and which pays the landlord his rent, the sovereign his tribute, the church her tithes, and the salaries of those employed in lucrative works. Various emigrations of men and riches accelerated the progress of this destruction. Both men and money were diverted from agriculture, and applied to manufactures of cotton, silk, and foreign wools, to the prejudice of the manufactures carried on with the wools of the country, and the multiplication of cattle. Great pains were taken to provoke the luxury of decoration, and it accordingly made very hasty strides. The administrators of the provinces, pressed by the exigencies of the state, no longer permitted the countryman to enjoy any security in the visible employment of the riches necessary to the annual reproduction of riches. A great part of the lands were permitted to fall into  
petty

petty culture, to lie fallow, to sink to nothing; land-rents were sacrificed to no manner of purpose to a mercantile commerce, incapable of contributing to the impost. And as husbandry, impaired and oppressed, could no longer give the state any assistance, the burthens of it were more and more laid upon men, upon provisions, and upon the commerce carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth; the expences and piracies attending the perception of such taxes, daily increased, and at length became the object of a system of finances, which enriched the capital with the spoils of the provinces. Money-lending became a trade from which people drew yearly incomes, founded on money, and drawn from money, which, with respect to the nation, constituted no better than an imaginary produce, that escaped the impost, and preyed upon the state. These incomes accruing from money, and a shew of opulence, supported by the magnificence of a ruinous luxury, imposed upon the vulgar, while, from day to day, they, in fact, lessened the reproduction of real riches, and the money of the nation.

EVERY

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EVERY body knows what happened soon after *Solomon's* death. Had he lived longer, he would have died a bankrupt, and the *Holy-Land*, formerly so fruitful, would have been long since over-run with briars and brambles.

MANUFACTURES for home consumption are no better than an object of expence, and by no means a source of income; nor can the exportation of them afford any net profit, but to countries where manual labour is cheap, in consequence of the cheapness of provisions necessary for the subsistence of manufacturers; a very disadvantageous condition for the produce of real estates: and accordingly such cheapness is to be carefully avoided in states which enjoy a free and foreign commerce, by which the demand for, and price of, the immediate fruits of the earth, is kept up; a circumstance, which destroys to advantage the trifling net produce deriveable from the exportation of manufactures, as the profits of such an exportation can only result from the under value of the immediate fruits of the earth.

WE



WE don't confound in this place the general net produce or income belonging to the nation, with the profits of merchants, and master-manufacturers. These profits are to be considered as barren expences, with respect to the nation. For example, what would it signify to have rich husbandmen, if the lands cultivated by them yielded for none but themselves.

THERE are some poor nations, in which most of the manufactures of luxury, multiplied to too great a degree, are supported by exclusive privileges, by laying the nation under contribution, by means of prohibitions, which deprive them of the use of other handicraft commodities. It is not so with agriculture, and the commerce carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth, where the briskest competitorship multiplies the riches of nations blest with extensive territories.

PRINCES should encourage those manufactures alone, whose materials are found in the country, and can therefore be made up cheaper there than elsewhere; and they should

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 173

should permit the purchase from foreigners of such manufactures, as foreigners can afford for less than their subjects can make them up. By this means they would provoke a reciprocal commerce ; whereas, by pretending to sell every thing, and buy nothing, they would soon put an end to all foreign commerce, and deprive their subjects of the advantage of exporting the immediate fruits of their lands ; an advantage infinitely preferable to that of exporting manufactures.

A LANDED nation should favour the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, by the importation of manufactures which she can turn to advantage from foreigners. Herein lies the whole mystery of commerce. Let us but act in this manner, and we need not be under any apprehensions of *becoming tributary to other nations.*

BUT enough of commerce. It appears, by the ill success of *Aduram's* schemes, how dear the most knowing, most upright, and most diligent ministers may, by mistaking the first principles, pay for a transient eclat, and momentary enjoyment, so as to sap the foundations

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foundations of a powerful state. *Azmoth*, on the contrary, minister of the warlike *David*, who had conquered his kingdom foot by foot, by applying himself to the encouragement of agriculture, and living upon good terms with the *Tyrians*, though he had neither a fleet at *Afion Gaber*, nor any manufactures at *Jericho*; *Azmoth*, I say, had in a short time the happiness to see his fellow-subjects a flourishing people, and left behind him a great treasure to build the temple.

BUT as we have mentioned king *David*, let us now touch the main string of the œconomical harp.

SECTION



# THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

## NUMBER VI.

Belonging to the seventh Section of the second Part of the Explanation, and exhibiting the destructive Effects of the Impost, when overloaded and absorbed by the Charges of Administration and Perception. This Number is formed on the footing of a total net Produce or Income of twenty Millions, and of an Impost of ten Millions overloaded by Charges of Administration and Perception to the Amount of ten Millions more; making in all forty Millions, of which ten, half the real Income, pass over to the Class of productive Expenses; the other half of the real Income, with the twenty Millions, Bastard-Impositions, pass over to the Class of barren Expenses.

|                                                                                                                                          |                                                            |                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c. necessary to produce an Income of 400l. are, in the Case of a destructive Impost | Income of 20l. overloaded with 20l. Imposition, represents | Annual barren Advances relative to Manufactures, &c. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|

|                                                             |                    |                    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 60l. produce, in Income, Imposts and Charges of Perception. | l. s. d.<br>40 0 0 | l. s. d.<br>25 0 0 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|

*there goes this way . . . there goes this way . . .*

|                      |        |        |
|----------------------|--------|--------|
| 10 0 0 reproduce net | 10 0 0 | 30 0 0 |
|----------------------|--------|--------|

*There goes this way . . . this way . . .*

|                      |        |       |
|----------------------|--------|-------|
| 15 0 0 reproduce net | 15 0 0 | 5 0 0 |
|----------------------|--------|-------|

|                      |        |        |
|----------------------|--------|--------|
| 2 10 0 reproduce net | 2 10 0 | 7 10 0 |
|----------------------|--------|--------|

|                      |        |       |
|----------------------|--------|-------|
| 3 15 0 reproduce net | 3 15 0 | 1 5 0 |
|----------------------|--------|-------|

|                      |        |        |
|----------------------|--------|--------|
| 0 12 6 reproduce net | 0 12 6 | 1 17 6 |
|----------------------|--------|--------|

|                      |        |       |
|----------------------|--------|-------|
| 0 18 9 reproduce net | 0 18 9 | 0 6 3 |
|----------------------|--------|-------|

|                         |           |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 0 3 1 1/2 reproduce net | 0 3 1 1/2 | 0 9 4 1/2 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|

|                         |           |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 0 4 8 1/4 reproduce net | 0 4 8 1/4 | 0 1 6 3/4 |
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|                         |           |       |
|-------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 0 0 9 1/4 reproduce net | 0 0 9 1/4 | 0 2 4 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-------|

|                     |       |       |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| 0 1 2 reproduce net | 0 1 2 | 0 0 4 |
|---------------------|-------|-------|

|                         |           |       |
|-------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 0 0 2 1/4 reproduce net | 0 0 2 1/4 | 0 0 7 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-------|

|                         |           |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 0 0 3 1/2 reproduce net | 0 0 3 1/2 | 0 0 1 1/4 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|

|                         |           |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 0 0 0 1/2 reproduce net | 0 0 0 1/2 | 0 0 1 3/4 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|

And so on.

TOTAL REPRODUCTION, besides the expenses of cultivation 33l. 6s. instead of 40l. Thus, the deficiency in the net annual reproduction amounts to 6l. 14s. on 40l. at which rate, the deficiency on 40,000,000l. represented by these 40l. would be 6,700,000l. And this deficiency, great as it is, would be still greater, if any considerable portion of the 30,000,000l. which we have supposed to return into circulation by passing over to the barren class, should stop and stagnate in the hands of the Financiers. Now, by adding to this destruction that caused by the arbitrary spoliative taille imposed on the husbandman, we may easily see, how rapid the destructive progress of such irregular impositions must be.

SECTION VII.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered  
in its Depredations relatively to the  
Impost.*

[ See TABLE, N<sup>o</sup> VI. ]

**T**HE impost is a portion of our property, which has ever been, and ever will remain, appropriated and engaged to secure to us the peaceable enjoyment of the rest.

It is, indeed, possible that a nation should pay no tribute to its government ; but it must then pay a tribute to its neighbours, by a political dependance upon them.

SUCH of our lands as are noble, and were formerly salique lands, boast an immemorial immunity from imposts. However, tho' military service, to which the possession of them obliged their owners, so far from being considered as a burthen, was deemed an honour ; it was, after all, a subvention : and the possessors



feffors of those lands, whose fancied immunity sound policy will ever respect, are by birth, what, in other countries, men are awkwardly designed by the red collar; I mean, subjects devoted to the service of the public.

IN a word, the impost is a debt by the law of nature, that is to say, by the law of God and man, provided we give the word *impost* its true meaning, and understand by it security and relief, and by no means general oppression.

IT is to no purpose to object, that it is doing nothing, merely to indicate the point where words change their meaning, since all earthly disputes arise merely from the contrary significations annexed to the same expressions. Besides, I might easily and with truth answer, that history affords very few, if any, examples of any tribute having ever occasioned any considerable murmurs, when the people themselves were charged with the collecting of it, and were permitted to bring the produce of it directly to the sovereign; but we have here a  
much



much surer guide than experience itself; for the table will direct our enquiries on this head, even better than it has done on any of the preceeding. Let us first speak of the collection of the impost; we shall afterwards speak of its distribution.

A WELL regulated impost, that is to say, an impost which does not degenerate into *spoliation* by a bad method of laying it on, is to be considered as a portion of the net produce of the lands of a landed nation. Otherwise, it would have no proportional rule, either with itself, or with the said net produce, or with the condition of the subjects liable to pay it; it might insensibly ruin every thing, even before those, who laid it on, dreamed of any mischief.

THIS tribute, therefore, called impost, should bear, intirely and directly, on the income, that is, on the annual and well known net produce of the land; and not on the farmer's advances, nor on the labouring people, nor on the sale of commodities; for in these last cases it would prove utterly destructive.

N

It

IT has been already demonstrated, by the aberrations of the table belonging to the second and third sections of the second part, that, when it bears on the farmer's advances, it, from an impost, becomes a spoliation, that would infallibly put a stop to reproduction; impoverish the lands; ruin the farmers, the land-owners, and the state.

LAI'D upon the working part of the nation, and on the sale of commodities, it becomes arbitrary; the expences of levying it amount to more than the thing itself, and recoil without measure upon the annual incomes of the land, to the loss of the state, and of individuals. But we must here distinguish between *imposition* and *impost*. The imposition would become treble the impost, and would bear heavy even upon the impost itself; for in all the expences of the state, the taxes laid upon commodities would be paid by the impost. Thus, then, would the impost become deceitful and destructive.

ANY impost upon the working part of the nation, who live upon their wages, is  
no

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no better, strictly speaking, than an impost upon labour paid by those who employ the labourers; as an impost upon horses made use of in tillage, is no better than an impost on the very expences of cultivation.

Thus any impost upon men, and not on the net produce of the land, would bear upon the very expences requisite to carry on the different branches of manufactures and agriculture, would doubly affect the said net produce, and quickly annihilate the impost itself. We are to consider this impost in the same light with taxes upon commodities, which likewise affect the net produce of land, the impost, and the expences of cultivation; and the levying of which cannot fail of being attended with immense expences in a great state.

PETTY maritime states, however, which have nothing but their trade to depend upon, are obliged to have recourse to this kind of impost, though in a less onerous form. Great states, too, must make use of it, when their



agriculture is so decayed, that the net produce of their lands can no longer afford a sufficient impost.

BUT then, such a resource in such states, is no better than a surcharge, which obliges the common people to live poorer than they otherwise would, stops labour, extinguishes reproduction, and completes the ruin of both sovereign and subject.

IT has been often proposed, that the impost should be, like the tithe, levied in kind, by taking a certain part of the crop, or gross produce of the land; but it would then bear no certain proportion to the net produce; the poorer the land, and the poorer the crop, the more unjust and burthensome would such an impost be.

LET us now proceed to the distribution of the impost, and the estimation of its amount, being the points, to illustrate which I constructed the Table at the head of this section. I have, no doubt, grounded this Table on a mere hypothesis; but the realization of this hypothesis is ever to be dreaded, ever to be carefully avoided.

I SUP-

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I SUPPOSE a kingdom, in which the impost is, in an arbitrary manner, laid chiefly upon farmers, on labouring people, on merchandize, especially those of the remote provinces; that is to say, in which it bears, directly and indirectly, on the advances of cultivation. Let the amount, assumed for basis, be ten millions sterling, ordinary impost, half immediately laid upon the land, and the other half upon goods. I suppose, on the other hand, that the charges of levying it amount to as much more.

Now, the immediate net produce of the lands of this nation would, in process of time, amount to no more, to judge of it by a scrutiny into the tax of one tenth on the productive funds, and into the total produce, than about twenty millions sterling, including tithes and other ecclesiastical revenues, nay, and the very impost payable by these revenues; a dismal produce for so large and so fertile a kingdom, and so laborious and numerous a people.

As, in general, great evils attend capital errors in the administration of the

finances, we must likewise suppose, that in this country the taille is arbitrarily imposed upon the husbandman; that the exportation of corn is forbid; that the production is limited to the consumption of the nation; that half the lands lie fallow; that the planting of vines in places fit for them, is prohibited; that wines are overburthened with ruinous impositions; that the domestic trade of corn is subjected to an arbitrary police; that even the transportation of it from one province to another, is liable to perpetual interruptions; and that the venal value of commodities is continually fluctuating.

IN consequence of such a series of destructive measures, the ill administred impost must fall heavy on the husbandman's advances, to the prejudice of reproduction, which would then, of course, decay from year to year. The husbandman's children would abandon the country; the extraordinary weight of the impost, on the natural price of commodities, and on workmen's wages, would raise both one third on the proprietary class,



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class, so as to reduce their twenty millions sterling, in point of real value, to less than thirteen millions and a half; and prove of equal prejudice to foreign commerce, and the employment of the impost remaining in circulation.

AN impost upon wages and commodities cannot fail being attended with a heavy expence of administration and collection. Besides weakening circulation, and restraining commerce, it raises the price of wages and commodities to the amount of the whole produce of the impost; that is to say, if an impost on consumption brings in 1,250,000*l.* and costs an equal sum to levy it, the goods, upon which it is raised, must cost the consumers 2,500,000*l.* more than they otherwise would do. Now, as the general mass of the impost must be expended, the impost itself must likewise immediately lose one third, since it pays for every thing one third, or even more, than it would do without that impost, which it really pays itself to the collectors and managers of it; so that from 10,000,000*l.* it is reduced to about 6,700,000*l.*

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LET us now suppose, that there are, in the state, general farms let out, for example, at 5,000,000*l.* and the levying of 5,000,00*l.* (including the general farmer's profits) costs 10,000,000*l.* Let us then examine this formidable, and, in the general opinion, so important operation of farming, by the foregoing reduction; it will appear that this impost of 5,000,000*l.* immediately lessens the public revenue of the state by 3,300,000*l.* How so? Because this operation draws after it the 10,000,000*l.* charges of perception, and those 10,000,000*l.* form a bastard addition to the venal value of commodities. Now, as the exchequer is the great steward and caterer of the state, it pays the 3,300,000*l.* above-mentioned, for the share of these 10,000,000*l.* Hence it follows, that this is no better than taking with one hand, to give with the other; that this admired farm of 5,000,000*l.* sinks in real value to 1,650,000*l.* and nevertheless costs those who contribute to it 10,000,000*l.* extraordinary, in charges of administration and perception, and in profits to the *persons employed against the king.*

BUT

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BUT a still worse effect of this fatal method would be, as the Table demonstrates, that of hindering annually the reproduction of more than 6,700,000*l.* for the sake of an impost, that would sink to 1,650,000*l.* and which it would be an easy matter to raise otherwise, tho' it amounted to the 5,000,000*l.* promised by the farms, so as to save the nation upwards of 10,000,000*l.* in the expences of perception, besides the above 6,700,000*l.* annually destroyed by the method of farming.

SUCH is the unavoidable mischief of imposts upon goods, not to speak of the enormous prejudice they do to commerce. Thus, then, it appears, that this kind of impost does not deserve the name of impost; it is no better than a depredation, which ruins the subject, without doing any service to the sovereign.

THIS deceitful and destructive impost would, besides, give a false idea of the annual net produce of the lands, and other riches of the kingdom. On the one hand, people  
would



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would be apt to make this net produce amount to about 20,000,000 *l.* never so much as dreaming that both it, and the whole of the impost, reduced to their real value, would form, in the whole, but about 20,000,000 *l.* On the other hand, they would make the impost amount to 20,000,000 *l.* which, in the whole, would look like a total net produce of 40,000,000 *l.* but, in spite of this confusion, it must clearly appear, that the land-owner's income of 20,000,000 *l.* and the total impost of 20,000,000 *l.* which, in appearance, form a net produce of 40,000,000 *l.* form, in fact, but a net produce of 20,000,000 *l.* and that the surplufage of 20,000,000 *l.* consisting entirely of bastard imposts, and bastard charges, is no better than an excreffence of barren and burthensome expences. By adding to this prospect, the losses caused by the detention of money in the coffers of saving people, and in the usurpous trade of the financiers, it will appear, that all altogether, every year, radically lessen the net produce by about 27,500,000 *l.* so as to reduce the advances of the husbandman, the  
net

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net produce of real estates, the value of lands, the labour of the hands employed in manufactures, and the impost itself; not to mention the progressive decay which spoliation draws after it, occasioned by that part of the arbitrary impost laid upon the farmers, which, added to the want of a market, causes lands to fall into petty culture, or lie entirely uncultivated.

THIS was once the case, and when it was, the expences of cultivation produced no more, including the impost, than 20 or 25 *per cent.* and that they produced so much, was owing to the great cultivation, which still existed in one fourth of the kingdom. We do not calculate in what number of years this degradation must happen, because the different destructive causes, of which we have spoken, may contribute to it more or less, as they act jointly or separately. We set out at a point of degradation, which we are well acquainted with. Consult the article CORN, in the *Encyclopædia*, where you will find in what manner a nation may lose annually four fifths of the net produce

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produce of its husbandry. Thus the general mass of riches, which, while agriculture flourished in the nation, might amount to 4,000 or 4,500 millions, would appear reduced to 900 or 1,000 millions.

THE beginning of this degradation is referred to the year 1690, or thereabouts. It would be an easy matter, by pursuing the same order of declension, to calculate how long it may still hold; but arithmetical truths of this kind are too decisive, and too harsh to let us push our enquiries so far. We shall not, therefore, follow the rapid progress of this declension; it may be easily guessed by the exposition we have given of it in the Table, and as easily stopped before it utterly ruins the state.

It is very mortifying to be thus obliged to descend from ideas of infinity, and give up the flattering suppositions of the inexhaustible resources of a great kingdom, especially at a time, when a greedy or ambitious heart seconded, in this respect, the illusions of the mind; but it is still more mortifying to be undeceived by real facts, and see oneself, at  
the



Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 189

the end of a long course of false œconomy, and secret depredations, after half an age of mistaken parsimony, during which, men of the greatest fortunes were reproached with an expensiveness, that men of middling fortunes might formerly have allowed themselves; during which a spirit of plunder prevailed every where, because a spirit of taxing spared nothing; it is much more mortifying, I say, to find one's self, all at once, in a state of absolute exhaustion, as if heaven and earth were hardened into brass, and all in consequence of a single mistake, but that indeed a fundamental mistake, from which all the rest naturally follow. A great kingdom, like *Anteus*, in the Table, must fall into agonies, as soon as its communication with the earth is cut off. It is from the earth alone, that such a kingdom can draw all its forces, and it is upon the earth alone, that it can recover them.

THE author of the Detail of *France*, under *Lewis XIV.* printed in 1699, refers, as we have already said, the beginning of the declension of the kingdom to the year 1660.

He

He examines the progress of it to the time he published his work, and demonstrates, that the net produce of our lands, which in 1660 amounted to 35,000,000*l.* (equal to 70,000,000*l.* of our money at this day) had sunk one half by the year 1699. He takes notice, that it is not to the quantity of the impost, but to the bad choice of objects it was laid on, and to the disorders which then attended the levying it, that this enormous degradation must be attributed. We are to judge of the further progress of this diminution by the continuation of the same kind of administration. The imposition, at length, became so exorbitant, that under *Lewis XIV.* it amounted to upwards of 37,500,000 *l.*\* which brought into the king's coffers but 12,500,000*l.* so that the contributors were annually robbed of 25,000,000*l.* the reproduction of 10,000,000*l.* of which was, besides, every year, irretrievably lost. These disorders, likewise, annually preyed upon the stock of national riches to the same amount; and, including the annual destruction occasioned by the

\* *Memoirs for the general history of the finances, by Monsieur Deon de Beaumont.*

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the arbitrary taille laid upon the farmers, the whole formed an annual depredation of more than 15,000,000*l.* Thus, then, the depredation amounted every three years to about 50,000,000*l.* (nearly equal to 100,000,000*l.* of our money at this day.) This ruinous imposition, which bore heavy on the expence of the impost itself, reduced it, in point of real value, to about 8,500,000*l.* and, after all, I mean nothing here, but what, in matters of finance, is called gross impost; that is, such impost as has not yet suffered by passing through the hands of the receivers and treasurers; who may be compared to so many useless inns, where the public money pays dearly for its reception. Accordingly, it has been observed, that both prince and people may be greatly enriched, even in so short a time as a month, by a better administration, that would abolish so ruinous an imposition, revive the exportation of corn, wine, wool, linnen, &c. But the man, who should dare undertake such a reformation at a time when all right notions concerning the œconomical government of an extensive kingdom were lost, would have  
been



been accused of an attempt to overthrow the pillars of the whole edifice.

HAVING thus discovered the source of the evil, calculated the progress of it, and demonstrated the Table, it may now, perhaps, be time to point out the remedy.

IT appears, in general, that the impost should be levied directly on the net produce of the earth, since, in whatever manner it is levied in a kingdom which draws its riches from its territory, it is always ultimately paid by the land. Thus, then, the simplest and most regular form of imposition, the most profitable to the sovereign, and least burthenfome to the subject, is that which is immediately, and with due proportion, laid at the source of the continually renaſcent riches.

WE are told, that a flourishing nation, though burthened with subsidies on a great number of commodities, and confined to a territory of no great extent, has, nevertheless, found means to confirm her power, and  
secure

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secure its prosperity, by exempting the plough from every kind of burthen. The farmers pay no impost: the land-owners who do are liable, no doubt, in time of war, to transitory subventions, which, during the storm, may oblige them to lessen their expences; but, then, husbandry goes on as usual, and the sale and venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth are held up by the freedom of exportation. Agriculture, and the multiplication of cattle, suffer nothing by the longest, and most expensive wars. The land-owners find their lands, at the return of peace, well cultivated, and in good heart; and their rents as good, and as well paid, as ever.

By this we may easily judge of the difference between an exorbitant impost, and a spoliative impost; for, according to the form of laying it on, an impost may be spoliative without being exorbitant, and exorbitant without being spoliative. This appears in the case of *England*, which, inexhaustible in consequence of her ever renaſcent riches, is thereby enabled to maintain the most ob-

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stinate wars by sea and land, without the least loss or diminution of her forces.

It appears, however, by what we can gather concerning the public revenues of this nation, that however wise and patriotic her government may be, they are very far from proceeding on this occasion upon true and simple principles. Accordingly, we see her over head and ears in debt: but then her attention to avoid spoliative or destructive taxes, and never farm her revenues\*, secures her from fundamental ruin, notwithstanding the great abuse she makes of her strength, and the mistakes inseparable from exorbitant designs, and too distant enterprises.

DURST I now, after pointing out what is to be avoided, say what is to be done, it would, with whatever justness combined, be sufficient matter for a separate work, being the result of an infinite number of enquiries, and comparisons.

It

\* I am informed, that, by an ancient law, the bare proposal of a farm or monopoly is felony in *England*, and punishable with death.



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IT is no easy matter to adjust a tax upon lands, since they are to be rated, not only according to what the fee of them is worth, but likewise according to their relative value. Middling lands, near a good market, are often worth more than the best at a distance from one, since the venal value is every thing. Now, from market to market, we, at last, reach the interior markets, maritime commerce, the open seas, &c. It is thus that all the branches of œconomical harmony correspond with, and depend upon, each other.

THE difference, which different modes of culture occasion in the produce of the earth, is sufficiently manifest from the foregoing pages; and likewise, that there is a mode of culture made use of in certain exhausted nations, which scarcely yields any produce. It likewise appears, that it is not enough to teach, and to recommend a better kind of culture, considering the heavy charges requisite to establish it. No, the hands of the husbandman must be strengthened; it is only the strength of them, that can make the earth yield her produce, as it is only this

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produce, that can supply the exchequer. The exchequer, however, as the lungs of a political body, should never stand still, but be continually drawing in, and throwing out riches. But how can riches be drawn from products which never exist?

FROM all this it follows, that the cadasters \*, represented elsewhere, as an almost indispensable basis of regeneration, afford, considering the injustice and absurdity of the arbitrary personal tax upon the husbandman, a very unequal and burthensome form of repartition, which makes no allowances for great calamities equally unforeseen, and unavoidable. We must, therefore, think of some more just, more simple, more paternal plan, and find out some method of winding up the machine, so as to make it go of itself with little or no expence; and likewise make the revenues of the prince constantly keep pace with those of the people, in order to bind and unite for ever, what ought never to have been separated. We must endeavour to cure people of the notion, that, to ruin themselves, and

\* Registers, containing an account of the nature and value of the lands of every district.

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and waste their patrimony, is the way to thrive, and to conquer. We are now . . . . But it is not yet time. One word more, and we might expect to see our works placed among those called *the reveries of a good subject*. We must use great gentleness in addressing nations frivolous enough to make a god of that idle scarecrow, called *Ridicule*, which, however, does infinite mischief, since, *as long as all the world is in the wrong, all the world is in the right*. Tho' I am thus suddenly stopt short by the fear of being ridiculed for being righteous over-much, I have often defied other kinds of ridicule. But this kind would render me hereafter useless to my country.



## CONCLUSION.

**B**Y recollecting successively all the truths established in the different applications of the Table, and referring them in this place to the article upon the impost, it will easily be seen,

1st, **THAT** every penny attending the perception of imposts, is so much transferred to the barren class; an enormous disorder this in the table!

2d, **WHAT** expences of the state are ruinous in their own nature; what likewise are a means of accelerating circulation; and what, in fine, are advantageous, by flowing almost entirely into the productive class.

3d, **IN** what manner the bare misapplication of useful expences may render them ruinous. For example, regular troops, maintained with the produce of the nation, strengthen the productive class; whereas, sent abroad, they become ruinous to her, though foreigners were to maintain them, merely in  
confe-

consequence of her losing the benefit of their consumption.

4th, THAT those, who are always preaching up to their sovereign a dry and barren œconomy, are unacquainted with the first principles of true political œconomy. The government of a nation, blessed with a fruitful and extensive territory, should consume a great deal, to make the country produce a great deal; but then the country must not be plundered, because there can be no thief without a receiver, and there should be no receivers to lock up any thing in a flourishing state. The state, I say, must consume a great deal. But to consume a great deal, it must have a great deal to consume; and to have a great deal to consume, the subjects must be rich; the lands must be in full production; the advances of agriculture and manufactures, the husbandman and the manufacturer themselves, all kinds of commodities, the markets, &c. must be entirely exempt from all burthens. The whole of the impost must fall upon the net produce of the earth; pass directly without any round-about from

the purses of the subject into the coffers of the sovereign; and, in the disbursement of it, from the coffers of the sovereign, into the purses of the subjects. But this is the grand stumbling-block in the way of all attempts to bring about a reformation: 'tis here the best ministers meet with obstacles superior to all their courage and virtue.

SUCH, however, was the project of *Sully*, which *Henry IV.* tired with seeing his pot empty, and all his doublets worn out at the elbows, laid before his council of finances. But they unanimously answered, that it was the project of a mad-man, who thought that the revenues of a great state were to be governed like those of a private family; to which this prince, no less judicious than frank and open, immediately replied, that *they, who were such wise men, having ruined him, he had a mind to see if mad-men could not make him whole again.*

RECA-



## RECAPITULATION.

**I**T is, in a manner, impossible to give any abstract of a work, that is in itself but an abstract of demonstrations and principles, which handled, as fully as they ought to be, would alone be sufficient to fill volumes. All I can do, then, is to give a kind of index, that may just point out the principal object of every section of this development.

THE author, before he exhibits his table, acquaints us with the object of it, ventures to invite the learned to apply themselves, as to the performance of a duty incumbent on such subjects, to the study of the æconomical science. He then warns us of the difficulties which attend his elements, and gives a preparatory sketch of the simple manner of entering this career by the road which his table exhibits.

NEXT comes the explanation in two parts. The first, sub-divided into seven sections, acquaints us with the nature of the table.

The

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The second, in an equal number of sections, presents us with the development and consequences of it.

### FIRST PART.

#### SECTION I.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Construction.*

**T**HIS table is no more than a map of circulation, and takes in nothing but the land-owner's share of the net produce of the land, exclusive of tithes and impost, arising from a vigorous cultivation, that yields one hundred per cent. net on the annual advances required by it, besides ten per cent. on these and the primitive advances. This share of the land-owner is equally divided, and goes one half to the productive, and the other half to the manufacturing class.

THIS section gives the first explanation of this new kind of dialect, and ascertains the natural and necessary produce of an acre of corn-land in a vigorous state of culture, free and exempt from all manner of taxes, and rendered

## RECAPITULATION. 203

rendered valuable by an advantageous foreign commerce, securing their just venal value to the immediate fruits of the earth.

### SECTION II.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Progress.*

**T**HE table is the same here as in the preceeding section.

HERE we see circulation going forward ; we see the distribution of money, which, though in itself no more than a conventional riches, is the indispensable attendant of real riches ; we see where every portion of real riches should tend, and where it should stop ; where be consumed, and where reproduced ; and what are the advantageous effects of the mutual ebbing and flowing of the productive and barren classes one into the other, which in reality doubles riches, and in appearance trebles the effects of them, by means of an extensive, rapid, and equal circulation.

### SECTION



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### SECTION III.

#### *The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered relatively to Populousness.*

NO alteration as yet in the table. The Author establishes, in the simple language of calculation, the true principles of population, a population secured to the state by the strongest of all ties, the ties of subsistence. He here pretty nearly points out, what must be the relative number of adults to the other inhabitants in an agricole state; what portion of these adults may be disposed of, and applied to such employments as are not of absolute necessity; likewise, what portion is indispensably tied down to the different purposes of production and manufacture. Hence flows the grand and genuine principle of population, namely, that a state, which would encrease the number of its subjects, can do it only in proportion as it increases the quantity of its riches. This demonstration, afforded by a bare survey of the Table, which proves that riches can spring from nothing but production, brings back population to its radical principle, *agriculture*.

SECTION

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### SECTION IV.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered relatively to the Amount of the Impost and Tithes.*

**H**ERE the Table attains its full growth, by the addition of one half, and of one quarter of what the land-owner's share of the net produce of the land amounts to; the first appropriated to pay the king his tribute, and the second to pay the church her tithes. This is the only alteration in the Table, for the whole amount of these three portions of the income combined together is here supposed to circulate in the same order with the rent alone in the preceeding Tables.

I SET out by shewing, that these contributions, so profitable both to the sovereign and the subject, are, yet, no way exorbitant, and that the proprietary, and every other class, would be extremely happy, that things were established upon this footing.

### SECTION

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### SECTION V.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered relatively to the National Cash.*

**T**HIS is a repetition of the preceeding Table. This section is intended to direct our ideas concerning money, in which all the riches of a state is, by vulgar opinion, made to consist; and demonstrates, that, as it is impossible to establish any fixed notion on this head, it is equally useless to investigate the quantity of money in a nation, since it must ever be in proportion to the annual net produce of her lands; and that all the money besides, hoarded up by avarice, is rather an incumbrance than an advantage to the state. The circulating cash of a nation can only be in proportion to the amount of her other riches.

### SECTION VI.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in the Estimation of the Produce, and of the capital Stock of every Kind of Riches.*

**T**HE Table is still the same. The estimate contained in this section is nothing less than ideal, since the main assertions  
of



## RECAPITULATION. 207

of it are built upon incontestable principles already established. Nor are the moveable riches rated too high in proportion to the net produce of the lands, comparatively at least with what we every day experience this way. Besides it is always of service to be able to make an estimate of one's condition. This valuation was moreover necessary to point out the real rank and dignity of money, an object so enormously magnified in the imaginations of most people.

### SECTION VII.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in the Conditions necessary to the free Play and Prosperity of the political Machine.*

THE preceeding Table is here again repeated. This is a kind of recapitulation of the conditions necessary to a free, full, and perfect circulation, such as is caused by a vigorous and plentiful production; and a caution against all the false measures that may obstruct it. I cannot too earnestly recommend a careful perusal of this kind of repertory, which takes in a  
great

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great many objects, and omits few of those which belong to this so extensive and practical a science.

### SECOND PART.

**A**FTER letting the reader into the nature of the Table, in the preceeding part, we present him with the development of it in the second part, by exhibiting the consequences of any disorder that may creep into it.

#### SECTION I.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its private Depredations, Excess of Luxury, &c.*

**T**HE Table is here presented in its first disorder, proceeding from a distribution of one sixth more of the annual net produce to the barren than to the productive class. The failure occasioned thereby very naturally appears at the bottom of the Table, by following the rules laid down for that purpose.

IN this section, after taking a cursory view of some of the principal causes of the ballance  
of

of the table inclining to the barren class; we ascertain in what consists the prosperity of a landed nation; we answer some specious arguments in favour of petty cultivation; and return to the support of our conclusive demonstrations, that great advances are requisite to secure every kind of rural profit.

## SECTION II.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered relatively to a State of Spoliation.*

THE Table here appears in the state of fifty livres diminution on one thousand and fifty, considered as the capital of the annual advances of the productive class.

THE detail of the depredations sets out with the first objects that occur, the effects of which are not absolutely capital and peremptory. Here is shewn, how the manners and customs of a nation affect it in its physical capacity. After which, as we go on, we treat of those devastations which go to the quick, and which in a few years wear away to nothing all the riches of a state. This is what we call *spoliation*, that is to say, the destruction of the advances necessary to cultivate the



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earth to advantage. We here suppose, that the spoliation takes annually fifty livres from the farmer's annual advances of one thousand and fifty livres; we shew, what the deficiency is the first year; the rapidity of its progress; and how quickly it must end in an absolute and entire devastation; for such is the unavoidable consequence of it. This speculation, at length, shews us, how agriculture declines to such a pitch, as to yield no longer above twenty per cent net on the advances of cultivation, instead of one hundred per cent. which it yielded, at first, in its natural state of prosperity.

### SECTION III.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE, in which the Decay of Husbandry, and the sad Effects thereof relatively to Population, are considered.*

WE here exhibit the table in that state of net produce, which we have been just speaking of, that is to say, yielding no more than twenty per cent. of the annual advances.

WE demonstrate, in the explanation, the consequences of such a decay, and bring back the  
the

## RECAPITULATION. 211

the state of population to its true principles, namely, its proportion with the earnings, profits, and salaries of the several branches of the state. We likewise cursorily examine, in what consists a strong and numerous defence; armies being nothing else than a disposeable or supernumerary portion of the inhabitants, whose strength and maintenance are subject to the same rules with the strength and maintenance of the other portions. We here also point out the useful way of employing the supernumerary hands in public works, the expence of which proves advantageous to the nation, in regard to her commerce, her commodities, &c. and ought to fall to the share of the several provinces, in proportion to their contributions, and be directed by them severally, as parties principally concerned, though in conformity with the general views and decisions of the government.

### SECTION IV.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Disorders relatively to Money.*

THE foregoing Table still lies before us.

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WE here put the reader in mind, that money is but an intermediate pledge between buyers and sellers ; and that the money in a landed nation can scarcely exceed the annual net produce of her lands ; that money cannot indemnify for any deficiency in the successive renewals of riches ; that the scraping together of money should not be the object of a nation's passion ; that money can never be scarce in a well cultivated kingdom ; that when a nation ceases to have any produce, it is impossible she should retain her money.

### SECTION V.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Disorders relatively to the Police.*

THE same Table still lies before us.

WE here consider the moral causes of the decay of the Table ; we particularly dwell upon the mischiefs proceeding from prohibitions too commonly considered as the effects of a sound police.

### SECTION



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### SECTION VI.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Depredations relatively to Commerce.*

**T**HE Table still continues on the footing of twenty per cent. net produce upon the annual advances.

DEFINITION of commerce; its effects; its advantages when free from errors. Sketch of the illusions in commercial matters of a great prince, and a great minister. The works of the manufacturer no source of riches. The profits of master manufacturers, and merchants, often no better than burthens with respect to the nation. That importation of wrought commodities, which favours the exportation of unwrought commodities, very advantageous to a landed nation.

### SECTION VII.

*The OECONOMICAL TABLE considered in its Depredations relatively to the Impost.*

**H**ERE the Table assumes a new aspect, being constructed on the footing of a real net produce of four hundred livres, and a burthensome imposition to the amount of four hundred livres more, too often taken for  
net

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net produce, both forming a total of eight hundred livres, of which two hundred livres, half of the real net produce, pass over to the productive class, and six hundred livres, viz. the remaining two hundred of the real net produce, and the other four hundred, consisting of bastard imposts, and burthenfome impositions, pass over to the class of barren expences.

THIS disorder arises from the quality and species of the imposition. This is made out in the last section. A reasonable impost ought to be considered as a portion of the net produce of the land taken from it without any manner of expence or depredation. Tribute can come from nothing but the said net produce. Devastation of a state, in which the impost should be arbitrarily laid upon the husbandman, the manufacturer, provisions, or merchandize. How the impost preys upon itself, and loses, by encreasing the price of every thing it is issued to purchase, double of what it gains by the encrease of its receipts. How the impositions, that is to say, the charges of collecting the impost, double the above disadvantage, so as entirely to absorb itself. How, in consequence of these  
two

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two errors, the revenues of the state, and those of the land-owners, come to have but an empty amount, and a fictitious value, the two parts of which, in fact, run into each other, and form, in reality, but one poor heap of ruins, comparatively with what might be expected in an extensive and fertile kingdom.

HERE the friend of mankind finishes his career; here he takes his leave of the service in which he had dedicated himself to his prince, to his fellow-subjects, to mankind. His hairs begin to look grey; he has seen the meridian of life, and the public should not be made to bear the decline of it. In his first work, he gave a plan of pastoral administration; in the second, he treated of the principles of organization, and the manner of realizing its details as to the municipal part; in the third, in fine, he points out the qualities of riches, and the means of procuring them; he frees the first notions from the prejudices, reduced into principles, with which ignorance and passion had surrounded and stifled them. This triple development forms a sketch of the whole of political œconomy. Such was, such ought to have been, the use of his voice; at least such he intended it should have been. He will deem himself happy, if his cotemporaries or posterity reap any advantage from his labours! Nay, he is happy in having undertaken them with that view. In his progress



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gress he has opposed two authors, but not two men, for he knows them not; and if he did, it would be as a brother to their persons, though an enemy to their principles. Were he to meet them, the rencounter could not be as warm, as was his first conversation with him who affirmed, that he had not hit upon one true principle of population. He withdrew, as people generally do from all disputes, as much as ever of his own opinion; but he recovered of himself; he listened again; he studied; and he has since had reason to thank himself for doing so. He did homage to truth, and from truth he has received ample returns for his homage. But had he found in the man, that opposed him, a tool of the finance, a compiler of oppressive ordinances, he would never have quitted the field, till he had blasted his opinions. This he is not afraid to say he has often done, and will be ever ready to do again on the first alarm.

ALL to this he has finished his career, his glass is run. Let the man, whom he has personally offended, stand up and accuse him; but if that man is not to be found, he hopes that all in general will condescend to receive his last adieus in the same manner they bestowed their welcomes on his first appearance.

F I N I S.

